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366 p.
1869

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S
EXTRA VOLUME, 1869-71.

On Early English Pronunciation,

With especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer.

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

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WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

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ADDITIONAL CORRIGENDA IN PART I.

p. 13, l. 7 from bottom, *omit* But for convenience, a very brief key is given on p. 16.

Cancel p. 16, which is replaced by pp. 614–5.

p. 105, n. 2, l. 6, *for* bəlt *read* (bəlt).

p. 107, l. 4 from bottom of text, *for* (A) *read* (Ai).

p. 111, l. 6, *for* (əi, ou) *read* (əi, əu).

p. 118, l. 6 from bottom, *for* tems *read* tems.

p. 119, l. 15, for *aryl* read *rayl.*

p. 141, l. 8 from bottom, *omit* as we sounded lyke.

p. 153, l. 9 and 3 from bottom of text, *omit* and which, *and* that the change.

p. 254, n. 1, l. 6, *omit* (possibly a reference to St. Mary le bon); n. 3, *add at the end of this note*: See note on v. 672, Chap. VII. § 1.

p. 265, l. 24—26, *omit* But *susteene* . . . 8323.

p. 309, n. 1, l. 3, for *z* read *g.*

p. 333, l. 26—29, *read* "Tyrwhitt, and the MSS. of the Six-Text Edition of Chaucer, read *thilke* for *the.*" *Omit* another mode . . . wikkedly.

p. 333, n. 1, l. 8, *for* Hengwit *read* Hengwrt.

p. 336, n., supply [1].

p. 347, art. 17, l. 10, *for* -înngë *read* -inngë.

p. 355, art. 53, *for* Ex. to (*c*), *read* Ex. to (*a*).

p. 371, Ex. col. 1, l. 28, *before* wiltow *insert* (*c*).

p. 388, *after* Manhood *insert* 14.

p. 407, table col. 2, l. 4, *for* "(ou) *o oo oa*" *read* "(oo) *o oo oa.*" *Note that* "(ou) *ou ow*" *in col.* 3, *l.* 4 *is correct.*

CORRIGENDA IN PART II.

p. 473, n. col. 2, l. 1, *for* p. 446 *read* p. 447.

p. 477, n. 2, l. 3, *omit* more.

p. 506, n. 2, last word, *for* (riú·le) *read* (ruu·le), *See p.* 573, *under IU.*

p. 562, *translation*, verse 13, l. 4, *for* yon, *read* yonder.

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NOTICE.

On account of the unexpected length of the present investigations, the Societies for which they are published have found it most convenient to divide them into *four* parts, instead of *two* as previously contemplated. The present second part concludes most of the researches themselves. The third part, containing Chapters VII. and VIII., is in the press, and will be ready by January, 1870. Chapter VII. will contain an introduction to the specimen of Chaucer; a critical text of the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, with especial reference to final *e*, metrical peculiarities, and introduction of French words, together with the conjectured pronunciation; a passage from Gower, printed for the first time, according to three MSS. with the conjectured pronunciation; and a specimen of Wycliffe. Chapter VIII. will contain Salesbury's and Barcley's works; specimens of phonetic writing in the XVI th century, by Hart, Bullokar, Gill, and Butler; a Pronouncing Vocabulary of the period; an account of French and Latin pronunciation in the XVI th century; an examination of Spenser's and Shakspere's rhymes, and Shakspere's puns; and an attempt to restore Shakspere's pronunciation. The fourth part, will treat of English pronunciation during the XVII th and XVIII th centuries, and of dialectic usages, and will contain full indices to every part of the work, but the time of its appearance cannot yet be announced.

A. J. E.

Kensington,
1 Aug., 1869.

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CHAPTER V.

On the Pronunciation of English during the Thirteenth and Previous Centuries, and of the Teutonic and Scandinavian Sources of the English Language.

§ 1. *Rhymed Poems of the Thirteenth Century and Earlier.*

It remains for us to apply the method employed for ascertaining the pronunciation of English during the XIV th century, to the discovery, if possible, of that of the XIII th century, and for this purpose it is necessary to examine the rhymed poems of this date in manuscripts which seem to belong with certainty to that period. Poems composed in the XIII th century, but transcribed in the XIV th, and therefore presenting the peculiar orthography of the latter period, are of little use for our purpose. This will account for the rejection of many rhymed poems which belong to this period. The following cases have been selected with some care.

The Cuckoo Song and Prisoner's Prayer, which stand first, have their antiquity well established, and possess the great advantage of a contemporary musical setting, which is of considerable assistance in determining the pronunciation or elision of the final *e*. As the old notation of music requires especial study to read, faithful translations into the modern notation, preserving exactly the number and pitch of the notes, have been printed. This is precisely similar to reducing the manuscript letters to the form of Roman types, extending the contractions and pointing. In the first piece the time of each note is accurately determined in the original, and is strictly observed in the transcript. In the second, which is in *plain chant*, this is not the case, and hence such time has been assigned as was suggested by a careful examination of the notes in connection with the words.

In approaching these earlier poems we stand already upon very secure ground. The values of *a, ai, au, e, ei, eu, i, ie, o, oi, ou,* as (aa a, ai, au, ee e, ei ai, eu, ii i, ee, oo o, ui, oou ou) have every appearance of being the most ancient possible, and the only doubtful points turn on such fine

distinctions as (a *a*, e E, i *i*), which it would be impossible to determine from the rhymes alone with certainty, since the necessarily strongly provincial character of all early poems, will certainly admit of rhymes apparently lax, which only represent peculiar pronunciations. In fact there was no longer a common or a recognized superior dialect, for the English language had long ceased to be that of the nobility. From the Anglo-Saxon Charters of the Conqueror down to the memorable proclamation issued by Henry III. (see below, p. 498), and for a century afterwards, the English language was ignored by the authorities, and was only used by or for "lewd men."[1] But there was a certain amount of education among the priests, who were the chief writers, and who saved the language from falling into the helplessness of peasant dialogue.

The chief points of difficulty are the use of *ou* for (uu, u), the use of *u* for (yy, y) and even (*i*, e), and of *eu* for (yy). The meaning of *ea, eo, oa,* practically unused in the XIV th century, has also to be determined. The result of the present investigation may be conveniently anticipated. It will be found that *ou* was not used at all for (uu, u) till near the close of the XIII th century, when the growing use of *u* for (yy) or (i, e), rendered the meaning of *u* uncertain. But in the pure XIII th century writings *u* only is employed for (uu), and becomes a test orthography (p. 408). The combination *eu* or *ew*, does not seem to have been used except as (eu). The combinations *ea, eo,* so frequently rhyme with *e*, and interchange with it orthographically, that their meaning was probably intentionally (ea, eo), with the stress on the first element, and the second element obscure,[2] so that the result, scarcely differed from (ee') or even (ee). The combination *oa* was either (aa) or (*aa*). The consonants seem to have been the same as in the XIV th century, although ȝ may possibly have retained more of the (*g*h) than the (J) character.

[1] Man og to luuen ðat rimes ren,
ðe Wiffed wel ðe *logede men*,
hu man may him wel loken
ðog he ne be lered on no boken,
Luuen god and feruen him ay.
Genesis and Exodus, 1–5.
þis boc is y-mad *uor lewede men*.
Ayenbite of Inwyt, suprà p. 412.

[2] The general rule for the stress upon the elements of diphthongs is that it falls upon the first, but this rule is occasionally violated. Thus in many combinations with initial (i, u) the stress falls on the second element, in which case, according to some writers, the first element falls into (J, w), which however, others deny. In (iu, ui) the stress is properly on the first element, as also in most provincial diphthongs beginning with (i), as (stiaan, m*ie*n) = stone, mane. But in Italian *chiaro*, *ghiaccio* (*k*iaa·ro, *g*iat·tshio) the (i) is touched quite lightly, and is almost evanescent, so that (kjaa·ro, gjat·tsho) would generally be thought enough. A method is therefore required for indicating the stress, when difficulty might arise, or when it is

1. The Cuckoo Song (with the Music), circà a.d. 1240.

The Harleian MS. 978, in the British Museum, was a monk's album or commonplace book. It is a small vellum MS. entirely of the XIII th century, but evidently written by many hands at different times. The contents are very miscellaneous. It begins with several musical pieces, some with and some without words, Latin, French, and English; it proceeds to give an account of musical notation and tones, then suddenly commences a calendar, of which only the first two months are complete, though the others are blocked in. Then comes a letter to Alexander the Great on the preservation of health, Avicenna on the same, account of the seasons, melancholy, etc., all in Latin. On fo. 24, the language changes to French, and we have recipes for oxymel, hypocrase, etc. On fo. 32, the hand changes, but the recipes are continued. The language reverts to Latin on fo. 32*b*, and the hand changes again on fo. 33*b*, col. 2, line 2. Without pursuing the catalogue further, we may notice a change of hand again on fo. 37 and fo. 38, where a beautifully written French Esop commences. We have again a different hand on fo. 66*b*, and so on. In the later part of the volume is a Latin poem of (twice) 968 lines on the Battle of Lewes, 14th May, 1264, (printed by Mr. T. Wright in his *Political Songs*, pp. 72–121), in which the cause of the Barons against Henry III., is so warmly taken,[1] that it must have been composed, and probably also transcribed, before they were utterly routed and ruined

abnormal, and for this purpose the acute accent may be used, as (*k*iâa·ro, *g*iât·tshio), and similarly (eá, eó) in some theoretical pronunciations of anglo-saxon, and this accent may be used in all cases if desired. In Icelandic I have heard the triphthong (*ioou*) with the unusual stress on the first, and (ie) when apparently (ié) was written, and in such cases the mark is indispensable. In Icelandic, I have also found it necessary to symbolize a very faint pronunciation of a letter, rather indicated than pronounced, rather felt by the speaker than heard by the listener, by prefixing ⌊ a cut [, to such a letter, as the symbol of *evanescence*, so that we might write (e⌊a) for (éa) that is (ea), or (*k*⌊iaa·ro, *g*⌊iat·tsh⌊io) if preferred. If it is wished to shew that a whole word or phrase is so spoken, then it should be enclosed between ⌊⌉; thus, clergymen will frequently faintly indicate words preceding an accented syllable, as (⌊'n *it*⌉ ·kee⌊im ⌊t'⌉ pahs) = *and it came to pass*. These symbols must be considered as appended to the list of palaeotypic signs, suprà p. 12.

[1] Compare the opening lines—
Calamus velociter
scribe sic scribentis,
Lingua laudabiliter
te benedicentis,
Dei patris dextera,
domine virtutum,
Qui das tuis prospera
quando vis ad nutum;
In te jam confidere
discant universi,
Quos volebant perdere
qui nunc sunt dispersi.
Quorum caput capitur,
membra captivantur;
Gens elata labitur,
fideles lætantur.
Jam respirat Anglia,
sperans libertatem;
Cuï Dei gratia
det prosperitatem!
Comparati canibus
Angli viluerunt,
Sed nunc victis hostibus
caput extulerunt.
Wright prints each pair of lines in one, as in the original MS., but the rhymes point out this present division, which doubles the number of lines in the

at Evesham, 4th Aug. 1265., This is therefore important in fixing the date of the MS., but Sir Frederick Madden assigns to the first portion of the MS. a date twenty or thirty years earlier, and believes that the writer, that is, transcriber,—by no means, necessarily, author—was a monk of the Monastery at Reading, founded by Henry I, 1125.[1]

poem. It was be seen from these lines what smoothness of versification the monks in the XIII th century were accustomed to, with only some slight accentual liberties, and what perfect rhymes they formed in Latin. We shall find the same smoothness in a very similar metre in Orrmin, and hence must expect that the English versification of the present period will also run without stumbling, unless the writer is very uncultivated.

[1] The following notes are written in pencil at the beginning of the volume. "The whole is of the thirteenth century, except some writing on ff. 15*b*–17. F.M."—"In all probability the earlier portion of this volume was written in the Abbey of Reading, about the year 1240. Compare the *Obits* in the Calendar with those in the Calendar of the Cartulary of Reading, in MS. Cott. Vesp. E.V. F.M. April 1862." Mr. William Chappell has kindly favoured me with the inspection of a letter from Sir F. Madden, in which he gives the grounds for this opinion, and as the date of the MS. is of considerable importance to our investigation I add an abstract of the same, which Sir F. M. has politely revised. 1. It is certain that the first part of the MS. (say the first 30 folios) is considerably older than the second, which contains the poem on the battle of Lewes composed 1264. 2. In this first part is a portion of a calendar, containing the obits of Abbots Roger 19 Jan. [1164]; Auscherius 27 Jan. [1135]; Reginald 3 Feb. [1158]; Joseph 8 Feb. [circà 1180]; and Symon 13 Feb. [1226]. In *Browne Willis's* History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbies, etc., 1718, vol 1, p. 159, all these Abbots are named, as Abbots of Reading. 3. The complete calendar, left unfinished in Harl. 978, is found [with the exception of Dec.] in the Cartulary of Reading, Cotton MS. Vesp. E.V. fo. 11*b* to fo. 16*b*. The latest obit recorded in the old writing of the months after Feb., is that of Abbot Adam de Latebury, 6 April 1238, all later obits are in a clearly marked later hand. The part of the Cartulary coeval with the Calendar was written about 1240, for fo. 22*b* contains a charter dated 24 Henry III., 1239-40, and at fo. 33*b* is a marginal note written subsequently to the text, and dated 29 Hen. III., 1244-5. In Jan. and Feb. the obits are the same as in Harl. 978, [with this difference that in the Harl. MS. Abbot Roger's obit is given under 19 Jan., and in the Cotton MS. under 20 Jan.] From these facts Sir F. M. "considers it proved by internal evidence, First, that the Calendar in both MS." and consequently the preceding parts, "was written in 1240 or very little later. Secondly, that the Calendars... were undoubtedly written at Reading, by a monk of that house. Lastly," he adds, "there is a remarkable entry in the Calendar of Harl. 978 (but omitted in that of Vesp. E.V.) on St. Wulstan's day, 19th Jan., as follows:—*Ora, Wulstane, pro nostro fratre Johanne de de Fornsete.* I am strongly tempted to regard this John de Fornsett, (who, from his name must have been a native of Norfolk), as the Scribe of the MS., for I cannot otherwise account for the odd introduction of his name in the Calendar." The entry referred to is literally as follows, the italics indicating extended contractions:—"XIIII k*alendas* Wlstan ep*iscop*i o*biit* Rog*erus* abb*as*. Ora Wlstane *pro* n*ostr*o fr*atre* Johanne de fornſete." The omission of the *u* after *W*, as in *Wulstan* is not uncommon, but it is noteworthy in this place, because in the English Song, which will be presently given at length, *wde* for *wude* occurs, and this à priori connects the two writers together, but of course the person who wrote that entry, which is in exactly the same handwriting as the rest, could not have been John of Fornsett. Hence I should consider this entry as making it highly probable that this monk was *not* the scribe, and the singular insertion may be due to his having been an intimate friend

This MS. contains on fo. 10*b*. the music and words of the CUCKOO SONG, which, Mr. W. Chappell says, "is not only one of the first English songs with or without music, but the first example of counterpart in six parts, as well as of fugue, catch, and canon; and at least a century, if not two hundred years, earlier than any composition of the kind produced out of England."[1] This song which

of the scribe. The MS. was evidently one for private use, and this note of a friend's death is anything but surprising. "You are probably right as to John de Fornsete not being the scribe," remarks Sir F. M., "still the introduction of his name is very singular, and I do not recollect any other instance of a *friend* being thus commemorated." The above historical external evidence of the real date of this MS., is rendered the more important because Hawkins 2, 93, and Burney 2, 405 in their Histories of Music, attribute it to the xv th century, "misled," says Sir F. M., "by an ignorant note of Dr. Gifford on the fly-leaf of the volume," and by the nature of the musical composition, which they supposed could not have been written before the time of John of Dunstable in the xv th century, an opinion refuted by Mr. W. Chappell, who quotes Walter Odlington, 1228-1240 (Scriptorum de Musica Medii Ævi novam seriem a Gerbertina alteram collegit nuncque primum edidit *E. de Coussemaker*, Paris, 1863, 4to., p. 245) to this effect: "Habet quidem Discantus species plures. Et si quod unus cantat omnes per ordinem recitent, vocatur *Rondellus*, id est, *rotabilis* vel circumductus." We also know that the English spelling of *Cuckoo* in the xv th century was *Cuckow*, not *Cucou*, which could only have been used in the xiii th.

[1] *W. Chappell*, F.S.A. Popular Music of the olden time, a collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads, and Dance Tunes, illustrative of the National Music of England, etc. The whole of the airs harmonized by G. A. Macfarren. (Printed 1855-9) p. 23. Mr. Chappell has given a facsimile of this song as the title page to his work, and says, in the explanation of that plate: "The composition is in what was called 'perfect time,' and therefore every long note must be treated as dotted, unless it is immediately followed by a short note (here of diamond shape) to fill the time of the dot. The music is on six lines, and if the lowest line were taken away, the remaining would be the five now employed in part music, where the C clef is used on the third line for a counter-tenor voice. ... The Round has been recently sung in public, and gave so much satisfaction, even to modern hearers, that a repetition was demanded." He adds in another place, p. 23:— "The chief merit of this song is the airy and pastoral correspondence between the words and music, and I believe its superiority to be owing to its having been a national song and tune, selected according to the custom of the time as a basis for harmony, and that it is not entirely a scholastic composition. The fact of its having a natural drone bass would tend rather to confirm this view than otherwise. The bagpipe, the true parent of the organ, was then in use as a rustic instrument throughout Europe. The rote, too, which was in somewhat better estimation, had a drone, like the modern hurdy-gurdy, from the turning of its wheel. When the canon is sung the key-note may be sustained *throughout*, and it will be in accordance with the rules of modern harmony. But the foot or burden, as it stands in the ancient copy, will produce a very indifferent effect on a modern ear,— we ought perhaps to except the lover of Scotch reels—from its constantly making fifths and octaves with the voices, although such progressions were not forbidden by the laws of music in that age. No subject would be more natural for a pastoral song than the approach of summer, and, curiously enough, the late Mr. Bunting noted down an Irish song from tradition, the title of which he translated 'Summer is coming,' and the tune begins in the same way. That is the air to which Moore adapted the words, 'Rich and rare were the gems she wore.'" This resemblance is perfectly fortuitous, and does not extend beyond the first three notes, the fourth note of the Irish

is so great a musical curiosity, is also a valuable contribution to our knowledge of early English pronunciation. In order to make the song more readily legible, it will be here interpreted into the ordinary musical notation,[1] the English words in Roman type, and below them the Latin hymn, by which it perhaps obtained its introduction into the monk's commonplace book,[2] in Italics, (which when used for entire passages will indicate red ink,) and a literal translation of the notes into modern music. On the opposite page will be given the metrical arrangement, conjectured pronunciation, and literal translations.[3] See pp. 426, 427.

air runs into a totally different chord. The fact that the song was in *six* parts, has occasioned some persons to suppose that it was alluded to in the last stanza of the 'Turnament of totenham,' Harl. MS. 5396, fo. 310, the handwriting of which is referred to A.D. 1456. As the stanza is not printed quite correctly in Percy's *Reliques*, 2nd ed., ii, 15, it may be added here as transcribed from the original MS. It is scarcely right to suppose, however, that the Cuckoo Song was the only six part song known.

At *þat* feft *þay were feruyd with* a
ryche a ray
Eu*ery* .v. *and* v had a cokenay
And fo *þay* fat *in* jolyte al *þe* lang day
And at *þe* laft *þay* went to bed *with*
ful gret deray
mekyl myrth *was* *þem* amang
In eu*ery* corner of *þe* hous
Was melody delycyous
For to her*e* pr*ec*yus
of vj menys fang.

Dr. Rimbault has published a modern version of this song in his Ancient Vocal Music of England, Novello, No. 13, in which he says: "the editor has followed an ancient transcript in the Pepysian Library, which omits the two bass parts forming the burden, in the Museum copy, and has added an Accompaniment upon a drone bass. The effect produced is considerably improved." Dr. Rimbault has politely informed me in a private letter to Mr. G. A. Macfarren, that he obtained his copy of this transcript from the late Prof. Walmisley of Cambridge, in 1838. Mr. Aldis Wright kindly made a search for the original in the Pepysian Library, but was unable to find a trace of it.

[1] Hawkins and Burney (suprà, p. 420, note 1, near the end,) have given translations with all the parts written at length, but have not arranged the words properly. In the present interpretation the arrangement of the original is followed, and for one deviation from the former translations I am indebted to Mr. William Chappell.

[2] Mr. G. A. Macfarren, the composer, in reply to my question whether he considered the English or Latin words to have been the original, says: "I am strongly of opinion that the music was composed to the English words, and the Latin Hymn afterwards adapted to it, because it was a common practice to adapt sacred words to secular tunes (as for instance, Thomas, archbishop of York in the XI th century and Richard Vichys of Ossory in the XIV th wrote many such), but it would have been regarded as a desecration to appropriate a church theme to a secular subject. Witness also the many masses set to music, throughout which the French song of *L'homme Armé* is employed as a canto fermo, and Josquin de Pré's Mass on this Song in praise of Chess, in proof of this same church practice." To this we may add that there are no Latin words to the *Pes* or *Burden*, which is an essential part of the harmony.

[3] This arrangement is reprinted from the work cited below, p. 498. As respects the language, all the words are ags. except cuccu, stert, uert. The first cuccu as we shall see is onomatopoetic (imsonic, or mimetic), the second stert, and its diminutive *startle*, is fully at home in the German, old sturzan, new stürzen, and Scandinavian, Danish styrte, Swedish störta, and may be a development of *stir*, or may be related to the same root as ags. steortan *to erect*, steort *a tail*, steart *a spine*, see Dief. Goth. W. 2, 304, 315, 333, Wedgewood, Etym. Dict. 3, 314. As to the third uert, Dr. Stratmann suggests *fert*, which would be the

The musical notes, with their precise value in time, and the Latin hymn, determine the number of syllables. As we find however the Latin accent occasionally violated (*non parcéns, vítě dónát ét secúm corónát*), we cannot be surprised at a similar violation of the English, in *Wél singés þu*. Taking the notes as interpreted on p. 426, it would seem easy to rearrange the words so as to avoid this false accentuation, but the ligatures of the original, corresponding to the slurs in the translation, forbid this rearrangement, which, with other liberties, Hawkins and Burney have not hesitated to adopt. Hence we find that this termination *-es*, might be, and probably was, fully pronounced. On the other hand, the termination *-eþ*, although fully pronounced in *groweþ*, *bloweþ*, was elided, either after a vowel or consonant, when convenient for the metre as in *springþ*; or for the music, as in *lhouþ*. In the latter case the metre would require the syllable *-eþ* to be fully pronounced, compare

Awe bleteþ after lomb
Loueþ after calue cu,

but the musician ventured not only to dock a syllable, but to put the whole heavy truncated word *lhouþ* to a short note. This may teach us that our older and ruder poets did not hesitate to lay words on a Procrustean bed. In *med*, *bulluc*, ags. *medu*, *bulluca*, the poet took the same liberty, and elided the final *-e*, for the rhyme in the first case, for the metre in the second. This precisely agrees with what we determined to be the occasional practice of the XIV th century (p. 342, No. 5), and shews that the omission was absolute, not a mere slurring over or lightly touching of the sound. We must consider that the words were felt to be as really truncated as *Ruh'* for *Ruhe* appears to be in modern German speech, for we have the essential *-e* preserved in *wde*, *awe*, *bucke*, the dative *-e* in *calué*, the adverbial *-e* in *lhude*, *murie*, all of which have a distinct musical note assigned. In the last word, however, both vowels in *-ie* are given to one note, as *many a time* would be given to three notes only in modern ballads.

The principal fact, however, that we learn from this song, as to the pronunciation of the letters in the XIII th century, is that long (uu) which was represented generally by *ou* and occasionally by *o*, but never by *u*, in the XIV th century, was now invariably represented by *u*. This is deduced from the word *cuccu*, which is manifestly an imitation of the cry of the bird,[1] as in French *coucou*, old French *coucoul*, Italian *cuculo*, German *kukuk*, *kuckuk*, Dutch *koekoek* (kuu·kuuk), Latin *cuculus*, *coccyx*, Greek κόκκυξ, Sanscrit *kokila*.[2]

ags. feortan, *pedere*, but this change of *f* into *v*, although frequent in old MSS, is not confirmed by any other usage in the present poem, and the use of a Norman word *vert* in a hunting phrase seems natural. The use of the word as a verb, however, requires confirmation.

[1] The musical interval of the cry is a descending minor third, which the composer has not imitated, the only instance in which he has introduced such an interval in connection with the cry, being in v. 6, where in *sing cuccu* he first descends and then ascends a minor third, the notes being *f d f*.

[2] "*Cuckoo* in English is clearly a mere imitation of the cry of that bird, even more so then the corresponding terms in Greek, Sanskrit, and Latin. In these languages the imitative element has received the support of a derivative suffix; we have *kokiz* in Sanskrit, and

The sound must have been (kuk·kuu·) or (kuk·kuu·) or simply (kuk·u), as at present. The orthography may be compared with the *cuckow* of Chaucer 17174 (suprà p. 305), where the short (u) remains the same, but the long (uu) is represented by *ow*. Agreeing with this we have *lhude*, *nu*, *cu*, *þu* which were *lowde loude*, *now*, *cow*, *thou* in Chaucer. And thus the characteristic difference between the orthographies of the XIII th and XIV th centuries (p. 408,) is established by reference to a bird's cry, which cannot have changed.

But *u* in the XIII th century did not always represent the sounds (uu, u), as we see by the word *murie*, which however is not enough in itself, or even when compared with the ags. *mirige*, to establish the second sound of *u* as (i) or (e), or originally (y) as previously suggested (p. 299). In *Hali Meidenhad*[1] we constantly find *u* for *i* or *y*. Thus in the first page, *bliðeluker* ags. bliðelice, blithely, *lustni* ags. lystnan, listen, *brudlac*, ags. brydlac, marriage gift, *cluppinge* ags. clyppan, clip embrace, *hwuch* ags. hwilc, which, *þuncke*ð ags. *þincan*, seem; *euch* each, in which last word the sound (eutsh) is almost unthinkable. The town of *Hertford* is so spelled in the French version of the English proclamation of Henry III, but appears as *Hurtford*, in the contemporary English version, 1258. The conclusion seems to be rather that the *u*, which was properly and generally employed as (uu, u), was coming into use to replace the ags. *y* (y), which it succeeded in doing by the end of the XIII th century, thereby necessitating the recurrence to *ou* for (uu). Was this double use of *u*, then, due to the Norman influence? In the French version of the Proclamation already cited,[2] we have *Cunte*, *tuz*, *nus*, *pur*, *sicum*, *iurz*, *sunt*, etc., in which *u* was most probably (uu, u), while in *Duc*, *saluz*, *greignure*, *esluz*, *iurgent*, *desuz*, etc., the sound could hardly have been other than (yy, y). The Norman *u* derived from Latin *u* may have been frequently (yy), and that derived from Latin *o*, may have been generally (uu). The point is not yet satisfactorily established,[3] and the English and Nor-

kokkyx in Greek, *cuculus* in Latin, (Pott, Etymologische Forschungen, i. 84; Zeitschrift, iii. 43). *Cuckoo* is, in fact, a modern word, which has taken the place of the Anglosaxon *geac* [*gæk*], the German *Gauch* (gaukwh), and, being purely onomatopoëtic, it is of course not liable to the changes of Grimm's Law. As the word *cuckoo* predicates nothing but the sound of a particular bird, it could never be applied for expressing any general quality in which other animals might share; and the only derivatives to which it might give rise are words expressive of a metaphorical likness with the bird. The same applies to *cock*, the Sanskrit *kukkuta*." Max Müller, Lectures on the Science of Language, 1861, p. 347. Pott, in the passage referred to, gives as other names for the cuckoo, old Slavonic gz'egz'olka, Lithuanian ge'guz'ē, Lettish dſeggufe and Lithuanian kukóti, to scream like a cuckoo, old Norse gaukr (gœœ:kr) etc., and gives other examples of names of birds from their cry. Cumberland (gauk), Scotch (gauk).

[1] Hali Meidenhad, from MS. Cott. Titus D. xviii. fol. 112*c*; an alliterative homily of the thirteenth century, edited by Oswald Cockayne, M.A., once of St. John's College, Cambridge; published for the Early English Text Society, 1866. 8vo. pp. 50.

[2] Both versions are given below, pp. 500–505, accurately printed from the originals in the Public Record Office.

[3] Mr. Payne is of opinion that the Norman *u*, *ui*, were always (uu). Com-

man orthographies derive so differently, that in the XIII th century they can scarcely be held to influence each other. Hence the introduction of *ou* for (uu) into English may be a native development, as already stated, and not due to French customs. The frequent appearance of *u*, where *i* would be expected, in Western English, as in *dude*, *lute* for *dide*, *lite*, may at most indicate a wider geographical extension of that sound (y) which is now nearly confined in the west to Devonshire. In our inability however to determine the last, especially in Eastern and Southern English, where we find the orthographies *u*, *i*, *e* interchanging, we have no choice but to pronounce as *i*, *e* (*i*, e). See the remarks on the same use of *u* in the XIV th century, suprà pp. 298–300. Numerous examples will occur in the following pages of this section.

We gather then from the Cuckoo Song: 1) that *ou*, *ow* were used for (oou) only, as in *lhouþ*, *growefþ*, ags. hlowan, growan, and never for (uu, u) which were uniformly represented by *u*, but *u* itself was probably ambiguous, and also represented an actual or older (yy, y), which was interchangeable with *i*, *e*; 2) that *e* final was regularly pronounced, but might be suppressed even not before a vowel, when required for the metre or rhyme; 3) that *-eþ* might be pronounced or suppressed; 4) that *-es* might be so distinctly pronounced as to be sung to an accented note.

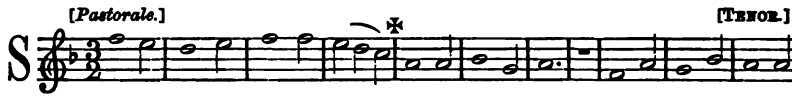
As regards the remaining letters and combinations no information is given, but on the other hand there is no reason to suppose them different from the sounds already obtained for the XIV th century. The words are practically the same. The consonants no doubt had not altered. The vowels *a*, *e*, *o* had already received their most ancient powers (a, e, o). The only doubt affects *i*, which in the XIV th century we concluded to be (*ii*, *i*). There can be little doubt that the Latin value of these letters was (ii, i), but it does not follow that when the Saxons changed their runic for the Roman alphabet, they actually said (ii, i). If they had said (*ii*, *i*) it would have been near enough. In subsequent examples we shall frequently find *i*, *e* short confused, which would still lead us to suppose that *i* short was (*i*) rather than (i). But from this time forth the evidence is not strong enough for long *i* being (*ii*). It certainly could not have been (ai), if we were right in concluding that it was (*ii*) in the XIV th century (p. 297). In this doubtful state of the case, I shall adopt (ii, i) as the long and short sound of *i*, in all my indications of the pronunciation of the XIII th century and earlier, and content myself with recording here once for all that I consider the short *i* to have been certainly (*i*), and that the time when long *i* passed from (*ii*) into (ii), if there ever was such a time in England, is unknown. Upon these grounds I have drawn up the pronunciation exhibited on (p. 427).

pare: bure mesaventure, bure couverture from King Horn, infrà p. 480, and the spelling *huis muis*, p. 449. When the spelling *ou* was established for (uu), *u* had almost certainly the sound of (yy), and it is possible that this later orthography may be a guide to the oldest pronunciation.

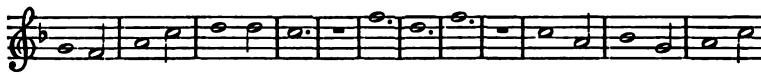
THE CUCKOO SONG.

From the Harleian MS. 978, fo. 10 b.

[*Pastorale.*] [TENOR.]

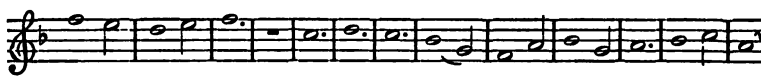


v-mer if i - cu-men in. Lhud-e ſing cuc-cu. Grow-eþ ſed and blow-eþ
Per-ſpi - ce christ - i - co - la. que dig-na - ci - o. ce - li - cus a - gri - co-

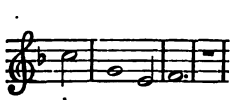


med and ſpringþ þe w - de nu. Sing cuc - cu Aw - e ble-teþ af - ter
la pro ui-tif vi - ci - o. ſi - li - o non par - cenſ ex - po - ſu-

lomb. lhouþ af - ter cal - ue cu. Bull-uc ſtert - eþ. buck - e uert - eþ
it. mor - tis ex - i - ci - o —— Qui cap - ti - uos ſe - mi - ui - vos

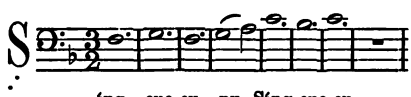


Mu - rie ſing cuc - cu Cuc-cu cuc - cu Wel ſin-gef þu cuc-cu ne ſwik
a ſup - pli-ci - o —— Vi - te do - nat et ſe - cum cor - o - nat in ce-



þu nauer nu.
li ſo - li - o

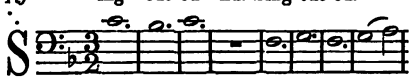
Hanc rotam cantare poſſunt quatuor ſocij. A paucioribuſ autem quam a tribus uel ſaltem duobus non debet dici. preter eoſ qui dicunt pedem. Canitur autem ſic. Tacentibus ceteriſ unus inchoat cum hijſ qui tenent pedem. Et cum uenerit ad primam notam post crucem: inchoat aliuſ. & ſic de ceteris ſinguli uero repauſent ad pauſacioneſ ſcriptas & non alibi: ſpacio uniuſ longe note—



Peſ

ing cuc-cu nu. Sing cuc-cu.

hoc repetit unus quocienſ opus eſt: faciens pauſacionem in fine.



ing cuc-cu. Sing cuc-cu nu

hoc dicit alius. pauſans in medio & non in fine. Sed immediate repetens principium.

THE CUCKOO SONG.

From the Harleian MS. 978, fo. 10*b*.

Early English Original.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Svmer ıſ ıcumen ín.	Suu·mer is ikuu·men in.
Lhude ſíng cuccu.	Lhuu·de siq, kuk·kuu·!
Growe þ ſed	Groou·eth seed,
and blowe þ med	And bloou·eth meed,
and ſpríng þ þe wde nu.	And spriqth dhe uud·e nuu.
Síng cuccu	Siq, kuk·kuu·!
Awe blete þ after lomb.	Au·e bleet·eth af·ter lomb,
lhou þ after calue cu.	Lhoouth af·ter kal·ve kuu.
Bulluc ſterte þ.	Bul·uuk stert·eth,
bucke uerte þ	Buk·e vert·eth,
Murıe ſíng cuccu.	Mer·ie siq, kuk·kuu!
Cuccu cuccu	Kuk·kuu·! kuk·kuu·!
Wel ſíngeſ þu cuccu	Wel siq·es dhuu, kuk·kuu·!
ne ſwık þu nauer nu.	Nee swiik dhuu nav·er nuu.
Pes.	*Pees.*
Síng cuccu nu. Síng cuccu.	Siq, kuk·kuu·, nuu! Siq, kuk·kuu·!
Síng cuccu. Síng cuccu nu.	Siq, kuk·kuu·! Siq, kuk·kuu·, nuu!

Verbal Translation of the Early English.—Summer has come in, Loudly sing, cuckoo! Grows seed, And blossoms mead, And springs the wood now. Sing, cuckoo! Ewe bleats after lamb, Lows after (its) calf (the) cow. Bullock leaps, Buck verts (seeks the green), Merrily sing, cuckoo! Cuckoo, cuckoo! Well singest thou, cuckoo, Cease thou not never now. *Burden.* Sing, cuckoo, now! sing, cuckoo! Sing, cuckoo! sing, cuckoo, now!

Latin Hymn to the same notes.—Perſpıce Xp'ıcola.—que dıgnacıo.—celıcus—agrıcola—pro uıtıſ vıcıo.—fılıo—non parcenſ exposuıt—mortıs exıcıo—Quı captíuos—ſemíuíuos—a supplıcıo—vıte donat—et secum coronat—ín celı foho.

Verbal Translation of the Latin Hymn.—Behold, Christ-Worshipper (*Christicola*) What condescension! From heaven The husbandman For the fault of the vine, His son Not sparing has exposed To the destruction of death, Who the captives Half-alive From punishment Gives to life, And crowns with him In heaven's throne.

Three peculiarities will here be noticed (au·e, lomb, nav·er), corresponding to *awe*, *lomb*, *naver*, in the MSS. Since, then, the scribe is supposed by Sir F. Madden to have been a Norfolk man, I endeavoured to write the song in the present Norfolk pronunciation, and having submitted the following to competent revision I believe that it is sufficiently correct to shew that if the old pronunciation, already given (p. 427), has any claim to consideration, there is no ground to suppose that the song was written in an East Anglian dialect. The East Midland form *singes*, which may have been a scribal error for *singest*, is the only East Anglian point of grammar, and *nauer* of sound.

Norfolk Pronunciation of the Cuckoo Song.

(Səm-ɪ *iz* kəm *in*.
  Lɛud·l*i* s*i*q, k*u*kuu·!
Graau·eth seed,
And blaau·eth meed,
  And spr*i*qth dhe *u*d nɛu.
    S*i*q, k*u*kuu·!
J*oo*u bleet·eth aft·ɪ lam,
Laauth aft·ɪ kalf kɛu,
B*u*l·ɜk staɹt·eth,
Bɜk waɹt·eth,
  Mer·*i*l*i* s*i*q, k*u*kuu·!
    K*u*kuu·, k*u*kuu·!
Wɛl s*i*q·est dhɛu, k*u*kuu·!
Not sees dhɛu næv·ɪ nɛu).

2. THE PRISONER'S PRAYER (WITH THE MUSIC), CIRCÀ A.D. 1270.

In the Record Room of the Town Clerk's Office in the Guildhall of the City of London, is preserved an old quarto vellum manuscript known as the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, of which a re-arranged transcription was made by Mr. Stapleton for the Camden Society,[1] and a translation has been more recently published by Mr. Riley.[2] Neither of these works mention a poem in Norman French and English, with musical notes, which is inserted at the end of the volume, although Mr. Stapleton gives passages which occur immediately before and after it, and upon one of the pages of the song. Both transcriber and translator seem to have considered the song as worthless, or as irrelevant to the other matters in the book. No doubt it did not form part of the work. It seems to have been inserted as a useful piece of parchment, and the old numbering of the folios does not go so far. But it is entirely in a XIII th century hand, exactly similar to that of the Cuckoo Song, and the musical notes, although not written in strict time, are of precisely similar forms. It would seem to be a piece of parchment and writing older than many parts of the book itself, and probably coeval with the Cuckoo Song.[3] The music is adapted to the French words, which

[1] De Antiquis Legibus Liber. Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum et quedam, que contingebant temporibus illis ab anno MCLXXVIII ad annum MCCLXXIV^{M}; cum appendice. Nunc primum typis mandata curante Thoma Stapleton. 1846.

[2] *Henry Thomas Riley*, Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London A.D. 1178 to A.D. 1274. London. Trübner. 4to. 1863.

[3] The following notes will enable the reader to insert this song correctly in Stapleton's transcript. The numbers

are carefully placed under their notes, but the English translation, written under the French, is not kept strictly under the corresponding notes and often runs to a considerable length beyond the French. Both begin together at the beginnings of stanzas. There are several mistakes in the English, and one word deleted in the French and not restored. This and the absence of musical notes to the few last words, shews that the manuscript was not properly revised. It is therefore necessary to add a corrected text (pp. 435, 437), which is that followed in the subsequent remarks.[1]

The notes, which are now first published (pp. 432-3), presented considerable difficulty, from their being written in *plain chant*, and therefore without any division of time, the length of the notes being left to the feeling of the singer, as in modern recitative. In the following edition I have duly translated the pitch of each note, and expanded the ligatures into slurred notes, placing the French words

in brackets are those of the folios numbered in an ancient hand, the other numbering is modern and in pencil. I have to thank the courtesy of Mr. Town Clerk for allowing me to inspect the book and make such extracts as were necessary.

Fo. [157], *a*. Fuit vir quidam, Stap. 238. This ends on fo. [158], *a*, last paragraph. This folio contains, Iste vero. A. natus fuit anno domini m°. ducentesimo primo, Stap. 239. The Mem., 1586, Stap. 253, ke la Reyne Isabel etc. L'an E. xx. is in a totally different hand.

Fo. [159], *a*, the six Latin lines, Stap. 253, In hoc folio continentur etc.

Fo. 159, *b*, is blank, but both 159, *a* and *b* are ruled for double columns and for writing.

Fo. 160, *a*, is blank and not ruled, apparently an old piece of parchment, used and put in.

Fo. 160, *b*, and 161, *a*, the words and music of the Prisoner's Prayer.

Fo. 161, *b*, the last words of the same Prayer, viz. "*et* jor *et* doint ioye certeyne," and "we moten Ey and o habben the eche bliffe," without either musical notes or staff. This page also contains the notice: Cum de edifices, Stap. 253.

Fo. 162, *a*, the five lines, Una Nero die, Stap. 253.

Fo. 162, *b*. A hymn consisting of ten lines and a half of musical staff, with Latin words: In translatione beati thome, the whole crossed out with one cross.

Fo. 163, *a* and *b*. The notice of Thedmar, Stap. 239, Fo. 163 *b*, is the last written page, there are however three other blank folios, and one with scribbling upon it, which ends the book.

The handwriting of the Prisoner's Prayer corresponds with that in the best and oldest writing in the book, and cannot be later than 1250.

[1] The English text of the Prisoner's Prayer appears to have been first published in the Reliquæ Antiquæ i, 274, from a transcription by J. O. Halliwell, which reads, incorrectly, v. 1, nun for min, v. 16 licth for lictli, v. 26 prsun for p*ri*sun, v. 38 us for hus and v. 39, misse for milse, and arranges v. 13, 14 thus

For othre habbet misnome
Ben in this prisun i-broct.

The present copy is re-printed, from the work cited below, p. 498, n. 1, with an improved stanza III, and the correction v. 41 wu fit go for wn fit. go, the result of renewed inspection. The corrected text has also been re-corrected, especially in the verse last cited, where Dr. Stratmann's conjecture that go wu fit go stands for go hu so it go has been adopted, wu=whu, being a not unfrequent form of hu in the XIII th century, (infrà p. 440,) and the contraction sit for so it being partially justified by Orrmin's ȝhó't for ȝho itt = she it, and hé't for he itt. Most of the other corrections are evident enough. The only difficult word ipelt is illustrated below, p. 448. See also: þat wer for sin in helle ipilt; of paradis hi wer ute pilt; fort godes sone in rode

under the notes as indicated in the original.[1] But I have taken the liberty of reducing the time to a modern system, and have added bars accordingly.[2] As frequently happens in translations, the English words do not in all cases exactly correspond to the notes written for the French. This has occasioned much difficulty in adjusting the corrected text of the English words to the notes, and such changes in the music as have appeared necessary are indicated by smaller notes. When two sets of notes appear in one bar, the direction of their tails shews in the usual way to what version they refer. It is evident that no stress can be laid on any passages in which such alterations have appeared necessary, as regards the pronunciation of the syllables.[3] Enough passages remain in which final *-e* was undoubtedly pronounced, to establish here as well as in the Cuckoo Song, the general rule for pronouncing it. At the same

was pilt, Furnivall's Early English Poems, p. 13, v. 8 and 35; p. 14, v. 56, from Harl. MS. 913. The French text has been printed by M. Jules Delpit, in his Collection Générale des Documents Français qui se trouvent en Angleterre, Paris, 1847, 4to. vol. 1, p. 28, No. LXVII. This transcript is faulty having *d'anguste* for dangusse v. 2, *dur* for duz v. 6, *en sait* for enset v. 12, *E sires Deus ke* for Sire deus ky v. 15, *I cel* for icel' v. 23, *morteu* for morten 28, *fort* for fors v. 30, *guée* for guíe v. 34. The *u* and *v* are also modernized, the stanzas not divided as in the original, some contractions expanded without notice and others not, the omission of *et* v. 39 not perceived and v. 5 made to end with *tres puis* instead of *Ihesu*, in defiance of the metrical point, the metre and music. In citing the *Rel. Ant.* for the English version, M. Delpit prints *Hallewell*, *Shraps*, *Pikering* for *Halliwell*, *Scraps*, *Pickering*. He says of this poem (ib. p. CXCII): "Le No LXVII est le plus ancien document en vers publié dans ce volume. Je l'ai trouvé sur les feuillets de garde d'un manuscrit du XIIIe siècle, connu dans les archives de la mairie de Londres sous le nom de *Liber de antiquis legibus*; mais sa composition peut remonter à une époque beaucoup plus ancienne que celle de sa transcription .... il m'a paru important par son ancienneté, et de nature à fournir quelques remarques utiles sur les règles qui présidèrent à la formation de la langue que nous parlons."

[1] In three instances only have I deviated from the original. The second syllable of *pleynte* in v. 1, and of *prisun* in v. 4, and the word *Christ* in v. 7, have each in the MS. two identical repeated notes written close together. In each case I have reduced these to a single note, as I have been unable to obtain any explanation of this doubling.

[2] The key is the ecclesiastical mode of which the scale ran from G, thus G A B c d e f g, without any sharps or flats. Each stanza is treated as a separate composition, and the second half of each stanza repeats the music of the first half, almost precisely. This has enabled me to supply the missing notes of the fifth stanza, answering to the French words: "*et* jor *et* doint ioye certeyne," with almost perfect certainty. I am indebted to Mr. Wm. Chappell for much information respecting the meaning of the old musical notation, and for an acquaintance with the important works of E. de Coussemaker: (Scriptorum de Musica Medii Ævi novam seriem, 1864, 4to., and L'Art Harmonique aux XII et XIIIes siècles, 1865, 4to.) without which I could not have translated the music at all. But for the barring of the *Prisoner's Prayer*, I alone am responsible, and I have been guided entirely by the symmetry of the musical passages and the rhythm of the words, not at all by any possible indications of length in the notes themselves, as was the case in the Cuckoo Song, in which the time is accurately indicated.

[3] Thus we cannot be quite sure that the singer pronounced *shame* v. 4 in two syllables, although there seems to be no doubt that he said *name* v. 5 in two syllables. Similarly *some*, *misnome*, v. 11, 13, may have omitted the final *-e* for the music.

time other passages occur in which it seems to have been undoubtedly omitted, not only before a vowel, but elsewhere, and these are all indicated by an apostrophe in the corrected text.[1]

The rhymes are generally quite regular, but there are a few anomalies which prepare us to look out for assonances intermixed with perfect rhymes in poems of the XIII th century and earlier. Thus: man am 7, 9; hem men 21, 22; live bilive stiȝe 27, 28, 29; mildse blisse 39, 44; are all assonances (p. 245, note). But they are assonances which many ears mistake for rhymes, because the differences of the consonants are not obstrusive. The French version has also the assonance: deus mortels, 15, 16; and perhaps: euayn heim, 37, 38.

As regards the orthography in the uncorrected text, the use of *d* for ð is common enough in other MSS. not to need explanation; the *hc* for *ch* is an occasional carelessness, compare *ihc* 4, with *ich* 1, 2, 3, found also in the Proclamation of Henry III.; and the occasional insertion of *h* is frequent in Layamon, and may indicate a doubtful pronunciation, compare *vs* 20, with *hus* 40, 41. More noticeable is the invariable use of *th* for þ at so early a period, and *gh* or occasionally *yh* (forghef 21, yhef 23) for ȝ; the use of *ct* for ȝ*t* (noct 12, ibroct 14) is not otherwise uncommon. The orthography *yh* seems to point to a (*g*h) or (ɹh) as preceding the use of (ɹ), where ȝ occured in ags., as already suggested (p. 313). *Wos* 24 for *whos*, and, if Dr. Stratmann is correct, *wu* 42 for *whu* and that for *hu*, may be assimilated to the cases of inserted *h*, as shewing a lack of appreciation of the aspirate. The use of *c* for *s* in such words as *blisce* 31, 44, is not uncommon, compare Gen. and Ex. 3518. *Mai* 28, for the older form *ma*ȝ, and *maiden* 35, indicate that the diphthong had been completely formed from *a*ȝ (ag, agh, a*g*h, aɹh, ai); and *ey* 43, compared with Orrmin's *a*ȝȝ, shews that a writer did not feel any difference between the diphthongs (ei, ai), which Sir Thomas Smith found it so hard to distinguish three centuries later (p. 121) and which were constantly confused in the XIV th century (p. 263). These are the only words in the English text bearing on these diphthongs. But in the French we have, *souerein*, *mayn*, *euayn*, *heim* 35, 36, 37, 38, rhyming together, and we have *plest*, *forfet* 24, 25, indicating an unpronounced *s* before *t*, and a degeneration of *ai* in certain words into (ɛ) even at this early period. The Prisoner's Prayer never uses *ou* for (uu), but employs *u* as in *kuthe* 1, *nu* 2, *thu* 8, *prisun* 9, *ut* 10, *buten* 34. The *sume* 11, and *misnome* 13, are either errors for *sume*, *misnume*, or *some*, *misnome*, probably the latter, as *same*, *some* are the ags. forms. There is no instance of *u* being employed for *i*, *e* or ags. *y*. The French text, to which the notes were primarily adapted, raises the question of the pronunciation of Norman. See p. 438.

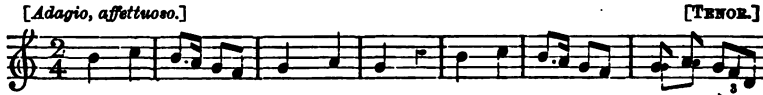
[1] Final *-e*, elided before a vowel, kuþ' 1, sor' 3, bal' hal' 17, wel' 31, but' 34 (this is a conjectural emendation), habb' 37, bring' 40; before an H, oþr' habbeþ 13, raþ' he 32; before a consonant, þin' 5, hop' 27, bar' 35, son' 36, liv' 42; internal *e* omitted, much'le 4, hev'ne 18, 35; and if Dr. Stratmann's correction is adopted we have *s'it* for *so it*, v. 42.

THE PRISONER'S PRAYER.

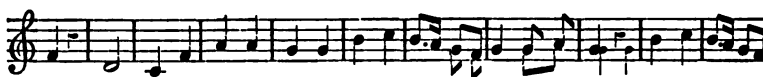
From the Liber de Antiquis Legibus, fo. 160 *b.*

Note. The French as in the Original MS., the English according to the Corrected Text. The slurred and joined notes represent the original ligatures. The time and bars are modern, the original being in *plain chant*. The last five bars are not in the MS., but have been supplied from the parallel passage commencing with the bar marked *.

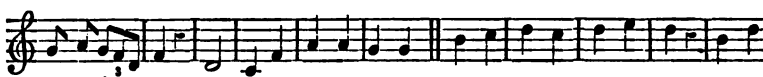
[*Adagio, affettuoso.*] [TENOR.]



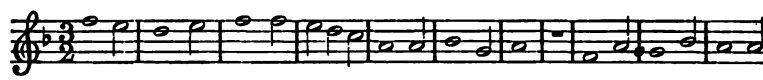
I. { Eyns ne soy ke pleyn - te fu o - re pleyn dan - gus - se tres -
{ Ar ne kuþ' ich sor - ȝe non. Nu ich mot ma - nen min



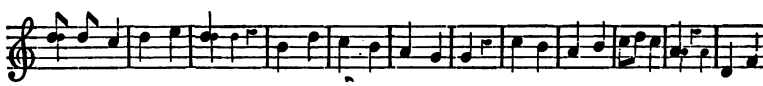
su trop ai mal et con-trey-re Sanz de - cer - te en pri-sun sui. car may-dez tres-
mon. Kar - ful wel sor' ich si-che. Giltles ich tho-lie much-le scha-me Help God for thin



pu-is Ihe - su. duz deus et de-bon-ney-re. II. { Ihe-su crist veirs deu ueirs hom. preng-e
swe-te na - me, King of hev-en - e ri-che. { Je-su Crist, soþ God, soþ man, Lhoverd,

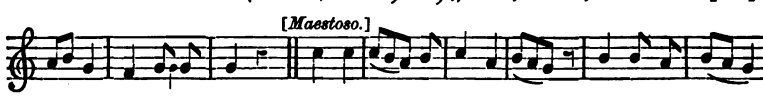


vus de mei pi - te. Je-tez mei de la pri-sun v ie sui a-tort ge-te. Io e
rew þu up - on me! Of pri-sun þar-in ich am Bring me ut and mak-ie fre! Ich and

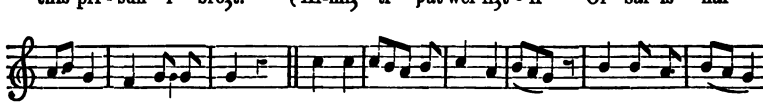


mi au-tre com-paign-un deus en-set la ue-ri - te. tut pur au-tre mes-pri-sun su-mes
mi - ne fe-ren so-me (God wot, ich ne liȝ-e noȝt,) For oþr' habbeþ ben mis-no-me [And] in

[*Maestoso.*]

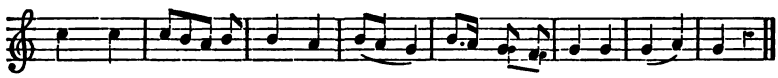


a hun-te li - ue - re. III. { Sire deus ky as mor-tels es de par - dun
this pri - sun i - broȝt. { Al-miȝ - ti þat wel liȝt - li Of bal' is hal'



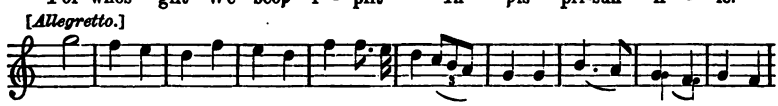
ue - i - ne. su - cu - rez de - li-ue-rez nus de ces - te pei -
and bo - te. Hev'-ne king! Of þis won-ing Ut us brin - gen mo -

ne Par-don - ez. et as - soy - lez. i - cel' gen - til si - re.
te, For - ȝef hem þe wik - ke men God ȝif it is þi wil - le.

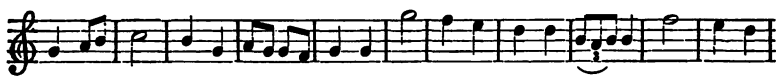


Si te plest par ki for - fet nous suf-frun tel mar - ti - re.
For whos gilt We beoþ i - pilt In þis pri-sun il - le.

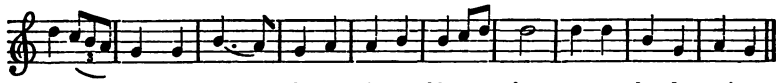
[*Allegretto.*]



IV. { Fous est ke se a - fi - e en cest-e mort-en u - ie. ke tant nus con-tra-
{ Ne hop' non to his live! Her ne maȝhe bi - li-ve He - ȝe þeȝ he

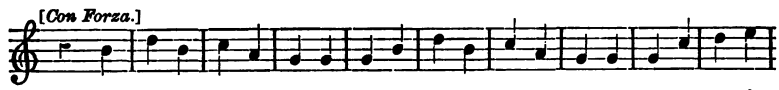


li - e Et v nad fors boy - di - e. Ore est hoem en le - es - se et ore est
sti - ȝe deþ fel-leþ him to grunde. Nu haþ man wel' and blis - se, Raþ' he schal

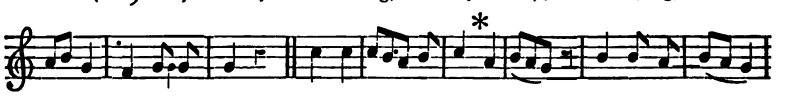


en tris - tes-ce ore le ga - rist ore bles-ce for - tu-ne ke le gui-e.
þar - of mis-se World-es we - le, mid i - wis-se Ne las-teþ but' on stunde.

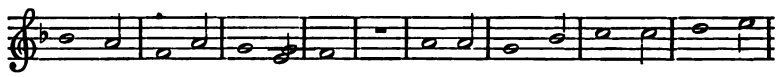
[*Con Forza.*]



V. { Vir - gine. et mere au so - ue - rein. ke nus ie - ta de la ma - yn Al mau-fe
{ Maȝ-den þat bar' þe hev'-ne king, Bi-sech þin son', þat swe-te þing, þat he habb'



ki par e - uayn nus ont tres-tuz en sun heim a grant do-lur (et) pein-e.
of us rew - sing And bring' us ut of þis wo - ning For his mu-chel-e mild-se



Re - que-rez i - cel sei - gnur ke il par sa grant dul-cur nus get de ces-te
He bring' us ut of þis wo, And us ta - che werchen swo In þis liv' go hu

do - lur. v nus su-mus nuyt et Jor et doint ioy - e cer - tey - ne.
s'it go, þat we mo-ten aȝ and o, Hab-ben þe ech-e blis - se.

From the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, Guildhall, London, fol. 160*b*.

Norman French Original.		*Early English Translation.*
I.		I.
Eẏnſ ne ſoẏ ke pleẏnte fu		Ar ne kuthe ich ſorghe non.
ore pleẏn danguſſe treſſu		nu ich mot manen min mon.
trop ai mal *et* contreẏre	3	karful welſore ich ſẏche.
Sanz decerte en priſun ſui.		Geltles ihc sholẏe muchele ſchame
car maẏdez treſpuiſ ihe*ſ*u.		help god for thin ſwete name
duz deuſ *et* deboneẏre.	6	kẏng of heuene riche.
II.		II.
Ihe*ſ*u criſt veirſ deu ueirſ hom.		Jeſu criſt ſod god ſod man
prenge vuſ de mei pite.		louerd thu rew vponme
Jetez mei de la prisun		of priſun thar ich in am
v ie ſui atort gete.	10	bring me vt and makẏe fre.
Io e mi autre compaignun		Jch and míne feren ſume
deus enſet la uerite.		god wot ich ne lẏghe noct
tut pur autre meſpriſun		for othre habbet miſ nome ben
ſumes a hunte liuere.	14	in thẏſ priſun ibroct.
III.		III.
Sire deuſ		Al mich
kẏ aſ mortels		that wel lichli
eſ de pardun ueíne.	17	of bale iſ hale and bote.
ſucurez		heuene kíng
deliuerez		of this woning
nuſ de ceſte peine.	20	vt vs bringe mote.

Verbal Translation of the Norman French.—I. Once (I) knew not what affliction was, Now, full of anguish, tormented (*très sué*), Too much (I) have (of) ill and misfortune. Without guilt in prison am (I), Wherefore help me right soon (*très puis*) Jesus, Sweet God and gracious. II. Jesus Christ, true God, true man, Take you pity on me, Cast me from the prison, Where I am wrongfully thrown. I and my other companion, God knows of it (*en sait*) the truth, All for other mistake (in mistake for others), Are delivered to shame.—III. Sire God, Who to (*aux*) mortals Art of pardon source (*veine*), Help, Deliver Us from this pain.

Corrected Text.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
I.	I.
Ar ne kuþ' ich sorȝe non,	Aar ne kuuth itsh sor·ghe noon,
Nu ich mot manen min mon.	Nuu itsh ·moot maa·nen miin moon.
Karful wel sor' ich siche. ·3	Kaar·ful· wel soor itsh siitsh·e.
Giltles, ich þolie much'le schame.	Gilt·les, itsh thoo·lie mutsh·le shaa·me.
Help, God, for þin' swete name,	Help, God, for dhiin swee·te naa·me,
King of hevene riche. 6	Kiq of нee·vene riitsh·e.
II.	II.
Jesu Crist, soþ God, soþ man,	Dzhee·su Krist, sooth God, sooth man,
Lhoverd, rew þu upon me!	Lhov·erd, reu dhu upon· mee!
Of prisun þarin ich am,	Of priisuun· dhaarin· itsh am,
Bring me ut and makie fre! 10	Briq me uut and maa·kie free!
Ich and mine feren some,	Itsh and mii·ne fee·ren soo·me,
(God wot, ich ne liȝe noȝt,)	(God wot, itsh ne lii·ghe nokht,)
For oþr' habbeþ ben misnome	For oo·dhr- -ab·eth been mis-noo·me
[And] in þis prisun ibroȝt. 14	[And] in dhis priisuun· ibrokht·.
III.	III.
Almiȝti,	Almi*kh*·tii·,
Þat wel liȝtli	Dhat wel li*kh*t·lii·
Of bal' is hal' and bote, 17	Of baal is нaal and boo·te,
Hev'ne king!	Heev·ne king!
Of þis woning	Of dhis woo·niq·
Ut us bringen mote. 20	Uut us briq·en moo·te.

Verbal Translation of the Early English (corrected text).—I. Erst not knew I sorrow none, Now I must moan (ags. *mænan*) my moan. Ful of care right sorely I sigh. Guiltless, I suffer much shame. Help, God, for thy sweet name, King of heaven's kingdom.—II. Jesus Christ, true God, true man, Lord, rue thou (have mercy) upon me! Of (the) prison wherein I am, Bring me out and make (me) free! I and my companions (plural here, singular in the French) together (God knows, I not lie nought), Have been for others mistaken, i.e. wrongfully taken, [And] in (to) this prison brought.—III. Almighty, That well easily Of harm is healing and remedy, Heaven's king, Of this affliction May (he) bring us out.

Norman French.		*Early English.*
Pardonez.		Forẏhef hem
et aſſoẏlez.		the wẏkke men
icel' gentil ſire.	23	god ẏhef it if thi wille
si te pleſt		for woſ gelt
par ki forfet		we bed ipelt
nuſ ſuffrun tel martire.	26	in thoſ prisun hille.
IV.		IV.
Fouſ eſt ke ſe afie		Ne hope non to hiſ líue
en ceſte morten uie.		her ne mai he biliue
ke tant nuſ contralie.		heghe thegh he stighe
Et v nad fors boẏdie.	30	ded him felled to grunde.
Ore eſt hoem en leeſſe		Nu had man wele and bliſce
et ore eſt en triſteſce		rathe he ſhal thar of miſſe.
ore le gariſt ore bleſce		worldes wele midẏwiſſe
fortune ke le guíe.	34	ne lasted buten on ſtunde.
V.		V.
Virgine. *et* mere au ſouereín.		Maíden that bare the heuen kíng
ke nuſ ieta de la maẏn		biſech thin ſone that ſwete thing
al maufe ki par euaẏn		that he habbe of hus rewſíng
nuſ ont treſtuz en ſun heím		and bring hus of this woning
a grant dolur [et] peine.	39	for his Muchele milſe.
Requerez icel ſeignur		He bring hus vt of this wo
ke il par ſa grant dulcur		and huſ tache werchen ſwo
nuſ get de ceſte dolur.		in thoſ líue go wu ſit go.
v nuſ ſumus nuẏt *et* Jor		that we moten eẏ and o
et doint ioẏe certeẏne.	44	habben the eche bliſce.

Verbal Translation of the Norman French, continued.—Pardon And absolve Him, gentle sire, If (it) thee please, By whose crime We suffer such martyrdom. —IV. Mad is (he) that has confidence In this death in life (*mort en vie,*) Which afflicts (*contralie*=*contrarie*, Roquefort) us so much, And where (there) is nothing but deceit (*et ou n'a*=il n'y a, *hors*=que, *boydie* = boisdie = voisdie, from *versutia*). Now is man in joy, And now (he) is in sorrow, Now him heals (*guérit*), now wounds, Fortune who guides (*guide*) him.—V. Virgin and mother to the sovereign Who cast us with his (*la*, lit. *the* as in modern French) hand To the devils (*aux malfaits*), who through Eve (*Evain*) Have us right all (*très tous*) on their hook (*heim*, *haim*, *hain*=Latin *hamus*, modern *hameçon*) In great grief and (supply *et*, wanted for the construction, metre, and music, the word originally written has been erased,) pain. Beseech that Lord, That he by his great sweetness (*douceur*) May cast us from this grief, Where we are night and day, And give (*donne*) sure joy.

Corrected Text.		*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Forȝef hem		Forȷeef· нem
þe wikke men,		Dhe wik·e men,
God, ȝif it is þi wille,	23	God, ȷif it is dhii wil·e,
For whos gilt		For whoos gilt
We beoþ ipilt		We beeuth ipilt·
In þis prisun ille.	26	In dhis prii·suun il·e.
IV.		IV.
Ne hop' non to his live !		Ne нoop noon too нis lii·ve !
Her ne maȝ he bilive.		Heer nee mai нee bilii·ve.
Heȝe þeȝ he stiȝe,		Hekh·e dheekh нe stii·*g*he,
Deþ felleþ him to grunde.	30	Deeth fel·eth нim to grund·e.
Nu haþ man wel' and blisse,		Nuu нath man weel and blis·e
Raþ' he schal þarof misse.		Raath ee shal dhaar·of mis·e.
Worldes wele, mid iwisse,		World·es weel·e, mid iwis·e,
Ne lasteþ but' on stunde.	34	Ne last·eth buut oon stund·e
V.		V.
Maȝden, þat bar' þe hev'ne king,		Maid·en dhat baar dhe нeev·ne kiq
Bisech þin son', þat swete þing,		Biseetsh· dhiin soon dhat sweet·e thiq,
Þat he habb' of us rewsing,		Dhat нe нab of us reusiq·,
And bring' us of this woning,		And briq us of dhis woo·niq·
For his muchele mildse.	39	For нis mutsh·el·e mil·se.
He bring' us ut of this wo,		Hee briq us uut of dhis woo
And us tache werchen swo,		And us taatsh·e wertsh·en swoo,
In þis liv' go hu s' it go,		In dhis liiv goo нuu s- it goo,
Þat we moten, aȝ and o,		Dhat we moo·ten, ai and oo,
Habben þe eche blisse.	44	Hab·en dhe eetsh·e blis·e.

Verbal Translation of the Early English (corrected text), continued.—Forgive them The wicked men, God, if it is thy will, For whose guilt We (have) been thrust In (to) this vile prison.—IV. Let none have trust in his life! Here may he not remain. High though he rise, Death fells him to (the) ground. Now hath one weal and bliss, Suddenly he shall miss thereof. (The) world's weal, with certainty, Lasteth not but one hour.—V. Maiden, that bare the heaven's king, Beseech thy son, that sweet thing, That he have of us pity, And bring us out of this affliction, For his great mercy. May he bring us out of this woe, And so to act teach us, In this life go how so it go, That we may, aye and ever Have the eternal bliss.

An examination of the pronunciation of old French, especially of the Norman dialect, is also almost forced upon our attention by the close connection of the two languages during the formation of English proper. The researches now being instituted by Mr. J. Payne into the persistence of Norman forms[1] have given the pronunciation of Norman a still greater interest. The investigation is fraught with difficulty, as will appear at once from the present attempt to resuscitate early English sounds. It must be conducted separately, first by an examination of all the documents tending to throw a light upon early French pronunciation; secondly, by a careful study of the living dialectic pronunciation in the North of France; thirdly, by a review of Norman French poetry, either in original manuscripts of known dates or in trustworthy editions of the same, such as M. Michel's edition of Benoit.[2] To assume that old Norman was pronounced as modern Norman,[3] or modern French, or modern English, would be against all historical precedent, and the most probable hypothesis is that it differed from all of these in many respects, but that we may find indications of the existence of all of the latter forms in particular cases. Such an investigation is entirely beside the present, although both have been occasionally brought in contact, through Palsgrave in the XVI th century, and such translations from the Norman as the Prisoner's Prayer, and the rhymes of English and French in Chaucer and the Political Songs. It would be difficult for any but a Frenchman to conduct,

[1] "The Norman element in the English, spoken and written, of the XIII th and XIV th centuries, and in the provincial dialects," is the more extended title which Mr. Payne has adopted for his papers read before the Philological Society in 1868 and 1869.

[2] Chronique des Ducs de Normandie par Benoit, trouvère anglo-normand du XIIe siècle, publiée pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit du Musée Britannique par *Francisque Michel*, 1836–1844. 3 vols. 4to. Published by order of the French government. The MS. followed is Harl. 1717, and the printed text was compared with the original by Sir F. Madden. There is a copy in the Reading Room of the British Museum.

[3] It would be as wrong to suppose that there is *a* Norman dialect, as that there is *a* Scottish dialect. Both of them admit of separation into several distinct forms, requiring different forms of writing to be intelligible. M. l'abbé Delalonde, professor of history at the faculty of theology at Rouen, who has most kindly replied in writing to several questions which I took the liberty of putting to him on Norman speech, says: "On ne peut, à mon avis, généraliser aucune assertion sur les points de détail, attendu que l'expression et même l'accent se localisent extrêmement .... Ce qui est vrai ici, peut ne pas l'être là. . . . Chez nous (dans le diocèse de Rouen) on trouve deux dialectes complètement différents d'accent: le brayon, parlé dans la portion orientale du département (ou diocèse) surtout dans l'arrondissement de Neufchâtel, et une portion de celui de Dieppe. L'accent est picard, par conséquent bref, et avec le système de syncopes propres au picard: *i' veul'-tent bien, mais i' n' peuv'tent pas*, ils veulent bien, mais ils ne peuvent pas. Du reste pas de mots originaux. Le cauchois, parlé dans tout le plateau occidental allonge extrêmement la dernière ou l'avant dernière syllabe du mot, prononce l'à très ouvert: le dialecte cauchois est riche en mots originaux, mais ces mots sont fort localisés." The "bas Normand" speaks, again, a different set of dialects. Hence, although we may find remnants of old pronunciation in all these dialects, it would be hazardous to infer the old pronunciation from any one of them.

and we may probably have to wait for a considerable time, before a properly qualified investigator devotes himself to the task. May this last anticipation prove incorrect![1]

3. Miscellanies of the xiii th Century from Reliquiæ Antiquæ, Early English Poems, and Political Songs, with an Examination of the Norman French EI, AI.

Under this heading some brief notices will be given of short rhymed pieces belonging to the xiii th or the earliest part of the xiv th century, contained in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*,[2] *Early English Poems*,[3] and *Political Songs*.[4]

The most considerable poem in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* is the Bestiary, i, 208;[5] it is only partly in rhyme,[6] and the rhymes are not unfrequently broken by non-rhyming couplets, or fall into mere assonances, so that no reliance is to be placed upon them for determining the pronunciation. Thus we cannot be sure that *s*, which is used throughout the poem for *sh*, was pronounced (s), from the rhyme: fis is, p. 220, v. 499, 529, for between them we have: biswiken bigripen, v. 515. Other parts are alliterative and therefore of no assistance, but they burst out occasionally in rhyme for a few lines. This poem uses *u* consistently for (uu), and *ou*, *ow* for (oou, ou) as in: out p. 223, v. 645 = aught, nout p. 209, v. 18 = nought, occasionally written nogt, p. 212, v. 187, sowles p. 211, v. 118, soule p. 213, v. 206, knowe*ȝ* p. 211, v. 121, knov p. 212, v. 165. There seems to be no use of *u* for *i* or *e* throughout the poem, thus we have: mirie p. 221, v. 570, pit p. 226, v. 761; this consorts properly with the consistent use of *u* for (uu). Similarly

[1] Diez, Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen, 2nd ed. 1856, vol. 1, pp. 404–454, investigates the meaning of the old French letters, but leaves much to be desired. The commencement of an investigation into the values of Norman *ei*, *ai*, together with a few other casual remarks on old and modern Norman pronunciation, will be found below, p. 453. See also the extracts from Dr. Rapp, below, p. 509, n. 1.

[2] Reliquiæ Antiquæ. Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts illustrating chiefly Early English Literature and the English Languge. Edited by Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell, 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 327 and 287, 1841–1843. The text has generally been carefully transcribed and printed, but some mistakes occur, as pointed out p. 429, note 1, p. 441, note 1, and p. 445, note 2.

[3] Early English Poems and Lives of Saints (with those of the Wicked Birds Pilate and Judas). Copied and edited from manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum by F. J. Furnivall, 1862, for the Philological Society.

[4] The Political Songs of England from the reign of John to that of Edward II, edited and translated by Thomas Wright, Esq. London, 1839. 4to. pp. xviii, 408. Camden Society.

[5] The text of this was especially read by the MS. Arundel 292, fo. 4. for the Rel. Ant. It has been reprinted with extensive notes, and a few conjectural emendations, in: Altenglische Sprachproben nebst einem Wörterbuche, unter Mitwirkung von Karl Goldbeck herausgegeben von Eduard Mätzner. Berlin, 1867. Large 8vo. vol. i, p. 57.

[6] The following parts are in rhyme, the pages refer to the *Rel. Ant.*, the number of the lines are taken from Goldbeck and Mätzner: p. 209, v. 40–45; p. 210, v. 54–87 in couplets, v. 89–119 alternate rhyme, p. 215, v. 307 to p. 217, v. 384, with a few short interruptions, p. 218, v. 424 to p. 219, v. 455, p. 220, v. 499 to p. 221, v. 554, p. 222, v. 588, to p. 224, v. 694, p. 225, v. 733 to p. 227 v. 802 and last.

we rarely find *o* for either (uu) or (u), thus: sunne = sun, p. 209, v. 19, cunne p. 210, v. 69, come p. 209, v. 35, but: cumeȝ p. 210 v. 67, sumer p. 214, v. 236, hule p. 214, v. 253, but: hole p. 217 v. 394, p. 226 v. 769, and the rhyme: cul ful p. 225 v. 741 = cowl full,[1] may be considered as establishing the value of long *u* as (uu) in opposition to the modern opinion that it is (əu) or (ou).

The spelling is generally good and consistent,[2] but it presents certain peculiarities. Thus *s* is always employed both for *s* and *sh*, and the rhyme, as already pointed out, ought to determine that (s) was the only sound. Also *g* is used throughout, generally as pure ȝ with the guttural effect after vowels, as in: sigte p. 211, v. 107, rigten p. 211, v. 117, drigtin p. 211, v. 119, ȝurg p. 211, v. 119, inog p. 211, v. 142. Sometimes the resolution into (ɹ) or (i) seems indicated by a prefixed *i*, as: leigeȝ p. 216, v. 359, maig p. 210, v. 80, p. 220, v. 516, p. 221, v. 548, but the *g* is then most generally omitted as in: mai p. 211, v. 129, mainles = without power, *main* force? p. 211, v. 128, dai p. 210, v. 63, but dei p. 215, v. 305, meiden p. 209, v. 37, shewing that *ai*, *ei* were confused. Initially the *g* was simply (ɹ) to judge by: ging = young, p. 213, v. 214, gu = you p. 244, v. 700, ge = she p. 214, v. 243, but it may have been (*g*h). After *i* it disappears altogether as: sti p. 213, v. 198. The aspirate *h* is treated very irregularly, being sometimes startlingly inserted, as *hac* for *ac* p. 226, v. 792, and frequently omitted. After *w* it generally disappears, as: wit, wel = white, wheel, p. 225, v. 737. The form *wu* for *whu* = *hu* = how (suprà p. 429, note 1,) is frequent, as p. 209, v. 36 and v. 55, but: hu p. 210, v. 56, in the next line. The pronunciation of *ch* seems intended for (tsh), and such apparent rhymes as: riche ilike = rich alike p. 222, v. 604, must be considered as assonances, unless we suppose -like to be an orthographical error for -liche. The use of ȝ is general, but we have bicumeth p. 210, v. 91, unless it be a misprint. After *s*, *t*, *d* this ȝ becomes *t*, as in Ormin, the instances are collected by Mätzner at v. 22.

The diphthongs *ai*, *ei* appear to be (ai) by the cases already cited. Forbroiden p. 211, v. 124, seems to stand for *forbrogden* and should imply therefore *oi* = (oi), but it is uncertain, and similar *oi* diphthongs are unknown, so that we cannot infer generally *oi* = (oi). In: newe p. 225, v. 724, spewed p. 211, v. 139, ȝewes p. 212, v. 183, reufulike p 223, v. 652, we can hardly take *eu* for anything but (eu). In: taunede p. 226, v. 767, middle high German *zounen* to shew, (au) seems to be implied.

[1] Wor so he wuneȝ ȝis panter,
he fedeȝ him al mid oȝer der,
of ȝo ȝe he wile he nimeȝ ȝe cul
and fet him wel til he is ful.
= Whereso he dwelleth, this panther, he feedeth him all with other deer (beasts), of those that he wil, he taketh the cowl (skin ?) and feedeth him wel til he is full. This is Mätzner's interpretation of *cul*. The Latin has only: diversis pastus venatibus. The ags. cufle (*Ælf. gl.* 20), cugle (*ib.*), cuhle, *cowl* is remarkable for the early interchange of (f, gh) which has not descended. If *cul* is to be thus interpreted, it has lost a final *e*. But is not rather *cul* the French word meaning rump, the prime piece ?

[2] The handwriting of the MS. is particularly beautiful, large, and careful.

On the whole this poem, though presenting some peculiarities, fully confirms the conclusions derived from the two preceding old poems. In none of the others does the orthography seem so trustworthy.

The FAMILY PRAYER, PATERNOSTER, etc., vol. i, p. 22, mixes assonances with its rhymes freely, as: lif siche, bunden wndes; kingdom don; wndis bunde. Of these: lif siche = *sickness*, is useful in establishing the value of the long *i* as (ii) or (*ii*). The *u* is consistently used as (uu), and *ou* in *troue* as (oou), once erroneous spelled *true*, but *au* is also used in *sauk*, which, if correct, is an early and quite unusual transformation of *suk*. The rhyme to this word: bysuak seems to imply some error in the MS., which is here correctly transcribed. Another unusual form is: leyse for *lese*, and fleyes for *flesh*, compare suprà p. 265, and infrà p. 473, n. 4. Although *Marie* occurs fully in: Heil, Marie, ful of grace! = (Hail Marii·e ful of graa·se!) it is abbreviated to *Mari*, in

Moder of milce,[1] and maidin Mari,	(Moo·der of mils, and maidin Marii·,
Help us at ure hending, for þi merci.	Help us at uur end·iq for dhii mersii·.)

No doubt this was a very ancient occasional abbreviation of a name so common on the lips of all worshippers: thus in Germany (Maarii·) is fully as common as (Marii·e) in addressing persons of that name. See p. 446, Ex. 3. The aspirate comes in curiously in: hart = art, hus = us, as well as house, hending = ending, herdeþe = earthe, hure = our. The guttural is evidently expressed by *ch* in: þich,[2] halmichtende, licht, richt, which is very unusual.

The CREED and PATERNOSTER, vol. i, p. 57, are not in the pure XIII th century orthography. We have indeed: ure, wiþuten, but: Pounce (written Punce = Pontius, in the last example), ous, foule. This shews a period of transition, which will be especially noticed in Havelok, infrà p. 471, occasioned by the growing use of *u* as (yy) or (ii, i, e), compare in the Creed: y-buriid, and in the Paternoster: als we forgivet *uch* oþir man. Other peculiarities here are: sshipper = schipper, ags. scyppan, create; and: *fleiss* = fleisch, flesh; *steich* = steg, ascended. The rhymes in the Paternoster are correct, except: don man.

Another CREED, PATERNOSTER, Ave, etc., are given in vol. i, p. 234, in which the *u* long is perfectly preserved for (uu), and: biriedd, iche, are used. Pontius appears as *Ponce*, which compared with the first *Punce*, shews the use of *o* for short (u). The Paternoster is chiefly in assonances, and we cannot feel sure that: deadd soðfastheedd, in the next prayer, is a rhyme or an assonance, that is, whether the first word is (deed) or (deeth), or (deead). The last little moral has some assonances:

If man him biðocte	(If man -im bithokh·te,
Inderlike and ofte	In·erliik and oft·e,
Wu arde is te fore	Huu HARD is te foo·re
Fro bedde te flore,	Fro bed·e te floo·re,

[1] This is the MS. reading, the printed text has *milte*, ags. *mildse*, see suprà p. 429, note 1.

[2] Imperative of *þeon* to prosper, compare *þeagh* in a sermon of the XIII th century, from MS. Trin. Coll. Cam. B. 14, 52, in Rel. Ant. i, 129, l. 2 and 14.

Wu reuful is te flitte	Huu reu·ful is te flit·e
Fro flore te pitte,	Fro floo·re te pit·e,
Fro pitte to pine	Fro pit·e te pii·ne,
ðat neure sal fine	Dhat nev·er shal fii·ne,
I wene non sinne	Ii wee·ne noon sin·e
Sulde his herte winnen.	Shuuld -is HERT win·en.)

But we might suppose that (bithof·te) was already occasionally pronounced, as in the West of England (suprà p. 212). The French *fine*, finir, end, establishes the pronunciation of *pine*. *Fore* for *fare* is a North-countryism, and *te* for the usual *to*, seems to indicate an indistinct utterance, perhaps (tə). I have ventured to pronounce: sal, sulde, with (sh), but I do not feel quite certain, for reasons named above, p. 440.

Immediately preceding this moral is the following in which: I ne, occurs in Mr. Wright's text, but: íne, in one word, occurs in the MS, just as in the old high German quoted by Graff, (suprà p. 292, n. 2), and clearly shewing the (in·e) or (ii·ne) pronunciation.

Wanne I ðenke ðinges ðre,	(Whan i theqk·e thiq·es three,
Ne mai hi neure bliðe ben;	Ne mai i nev·er bliidh·e bee;
ðe ton is dat I sal awei,	Dhet-oon is dhat i shal awai·,
ðe toðer is ine wot wilk dei	Dhet-oodh·r is in·e wot whilk dai,
ðe ðridde is mi moste kare,	Dhe thrid·e, is mi most·e kaa·re,
Ine wot wider I sal faren.	In·e wot whidh·er i shal faa·re.)

In this pronunciation I have taken some necessary liberties with the text, as the omission of an Infinitive *n* for the rhyme, rectification of the aspirate, *w* for *wh*, *d* for ꝑ, etc.

The three first Paternosters, Aves, and Credos, are here given for comparison with those of Dan Michel, suprà p. 413. They have been read with the original MSS.,[1] and are printed accordingly, with the exception of capitals, punctuation, undotted ı, and long ſ. Titles, where wanting, are added for convenience. The pronunciation is adapted to a slightly amended text, as the manuscripts are often very faulty, but the different provincial characters are not disturbed. The whole writing and versification is very rude and uncouth.

MS. Cotton Cleop. B. vi. fo. 201 *v°.* *Rel. Ant.* 1, 22.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
PATER NOSTER.	Paa·ter nos·ter.
*U*re fadir þat hart in heuene,	Uu·re faa·der dhat art in HEV·ene,
halged be þi name with giftis seuene	HAL·ghed bee dhi naa·me with gift·is sev·ene,
samin cume þi kingdom,	Saa·min kuu·me dhi kiq·doom·.
þi wille in herþe: als in heuene be don,	Dhi wil in erth, als in hev·ne be don.
vre bred þat lastes ai	Uu·re breed, dhat last·es ai,
gyue it hus þis hilke dai,	Giiv it us, dhis ilk·e dai,
and vre misdedis þu forgyue hus,	And uu·re misdeed·is dhuu forgiiv·e us
als we forgyue þaim þat misdon hus,	Als wee forgiiv·e dhaim dhat miis·doon·
and leod us in tol na fandinge,	And leed us in til naa fan·diq·e, [us.
bot frels us fra alle iuele þing.	But freels us fra al iiv·le thiq·e.
Amen.	Aa·men.

[1] The printed text of the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* was first read by me with the MSS., and the proofs of these pages were again compared with the originals by Mr. Brock.

Ave

*H*eil Marie, ful of grace,
þe lauird þich þe in heuirilk place.
blisced be þu mang alle wimmem,
and blisced be þe blosme of þi wambe.
Amen.

Aa·ve

Hail, Marii·e, ful of graa·se, [plaa·se
Dhe laa·vird thi*k*h dhe in ev·rilk
Blis·ed be dhuu maq al·e wim·en·
And blis·ed be dhe blosm- of dhi
wamb. Aa·men·.

Credo

*H*i true in God, fader hal-michttende, þat makede heuen and herde þe, and in Ihesuc Krist, is ane lepi sone, hure lauerd, þat was bigotin of þe hali gast, and born of þe mainden Marie, pinid under Punce Pilate, festened to þe rode, ded and duluun, licht in til helle, þe þride dai up ras fra dede to liue, stegh in til heuenne, sitis on is fadir richt hand, fadir al-waldand, he þen sal cume to deme þe quike an þe dede. Hy troue hy þeli gast, and hely kirke, þe samninge of halghes, forgifnes of sinnes, vprisigen of fleyes, and life wiþ-hutin hend. Amem.

Kree·do

Ii troou·e in God, faa·der al·mi*k*ht·end·e, dhat maa·kede нev·en and erth·e, and in Dzhee·sus Krist, нis aa·neleep·i soo·ne, uu·re lav·erd, dhat was bigot·en of dhe Haa·li Gaast, and born of dhe Mai·den Marii·e, pii·ned un·der Puns·e Pilaat·e, fest·ened to dhe roo·de, ded and dulv·en, li*k*ht in til нel·e, dhe thrid·e dai upraas· fra deed·e to lii·ve, stee*g*h in til нev·ene, sit·es on нis faa·der ri*k*ht нand, faa·der al·wald·and·, нee dhen shal kuu·me to dee·me dhe k*w*ik·e and dhe deed·e. Ii trou·e [in] dhe Haa·li Gaast, and haa·li Kirk·e, dhe sam·niq·e of нal·ghes, forgif·nes of sin·es, upri·si*g*hen of flaish, and lii·ve withuu·ten end·e Aa·men.

Harl. MS. 3724, *fo.* 44. *Rel. Ant.* 1, 57. *Camden's Remaines*, p. 24. *Lyttelton's History*, 4, 130.

Pater noster in Anglico

Vre fader in heuene riche,
þi name be haliid euer iliche
þu bringe vs to þi michil blisce,
þi wille to wirche þu vs wisse,
Als hit is in heuene i-do
Euer in eorþe ben hit al so,
þat holi bred þat lesteþ ay
þu send hit ous þis ilke day,
Forgiue ous alle þat we hauiþ don,
Als we forgiuet uch oþir man
Ne lete vs falle in no fondinge,
Ak scilde vs fro þe foule þinge.
Amen.

Paa·ter nos·ter

Uu·re faa·der in hev·ne riitsh·e,
Dhi naam·e be нal·ɹed ev·er iliitsh·e
Dhuu briq us too dhe mitsh·el blis·e,
Dhi wil·e to wirtsh·e dhuu us wis·e,
Als нit is in hev·n- idoo·
Ev·er in erth·e ben it al·soo·,
Dhat нoo·li bred dhat lest·eth ai
Dhuu send нit us dhis ilk·e dai,
Forgiiv· us al dhat wee нavth doon,
Als wee forgiv·eth eech ooth·er man,
Nee leet us fal in noo fon·diq·e,
Ak shild us froo dhe fuu·le thiq·e.
Aa·men·.

Credo

I bileue in God fadir almichty, sshipper of heuene and of eorþe, and in Ihesus Crist, his onlepi sone, vre louerd, þat is iuange þurch þe holy gost, bore of Marie Mayden, þolede pine vnder Pounce Pilat, picht on rode tre, ded and yburiid, licht in to helle, þe þridde day fram deth aros, steich in to heuene, sit on his fadir richt honde, God almichti, þenne is cominde to deme þe quikke and þe dede. I bileue in þe holy gost, al holy chirche, mone of alle halwen, forgiuenis of sinne, fleiss vprising, lyf wiþuten ende.
Amen.

Kree·do

Ii bileev· in God, faa·der al·mi*k*ht·i, ship·er of нev·ene and of erth·e, and in Dzhee·sus Krist, нis oon·leep·i soo·ne, uu·re lov·erd, dhat is ifaq·e thurkh the Hoo·li Goost, boo·ren of Marii·e mai·den. thoo·lede pii·ne un·der Pun·se Pilaat·, pi*k*ht on the roo·de tree, deed and iber·ied, li*k*ht into нel·e, dhe thrid·e dai from deeth aroos·, stai*k*h into нev·ene, sit on нis faa·dir ri*k*ht нond·e, God al·mi*k*ht·i, dhen·e is kuum·end·e to deem·e dhe k*w*ik·e and dhe deed·e. Ii bileev·e in dhe Hoo·li Goost, al нoo·li tshirtsh·e, moon·e of al·e нal·wen, forgiv·nes of sin·e, flaish uprii·siq·, liif withuu·ten end·e.
Aa·men·.

Arund. MS. 292, *fol.* 3. *Rel. Ant.* 1, 234.

PATER NOSTER.

Fader ure ðatt art in heuene blisse
ðin hege name itt wurðe bliscedd,
Cumen itt mote ði king dom,
ðin hali wil it be al don
In heuene and in erðe all so,
So itt sall ben ful wel ic tro;
ȝif us alle one ðis dai
Vre bred of iche dai
And forgiue us ure sinne
Als we don ure wiðerwinnes;
Leet us noct in fondinge falle,
Ooc fro iuel ðu sild us alle.
Amen.

AUE MARIA

Marie ful off grace, weel de be,
Godd of heuene be wið ðe,
Oure alle wimmen bliscedd tu be,
So be ðe bern datt is boren of ðe.

CREDO IN DEUM

I leue in Godd al-micten fader,
ðatt heuene and erðe made to gar;
And in Ihesu Crist his leue sun,
Vre onelic louerd, ik him mune,
ðatt of de holigost bikennedd was,
Of Marie ðe maiden boren he was,
Pinedd under Ponce Pilate,
On rode nailedd for mannes sake;
ðar ðolede he deadd widuten wold,
And biriedd was in de roche cold,
Dun til helle licten he gan,
ðe ðridde dai off deadd atkam,
To heuene he steg in ure manliche,
ðar sitteð he in hijs faderes riche,
O domes dai sal he cumen agen,
To demen dede and liues men:
I leue on ðe hali gast,
al holi chirche stedefast
Men off alle holi kinne,
And forgiuenesse of mannes sinne,
Vprisinge of alle men,
And eche lif I leue. Amen.

Camden's Remaines p. 24.

Paa·ter nos·ter.

Faa·der uu·re dhat art in HEV·ne blis·e
Dhiin HEKH·e naam it wurdh·e blis·ed,
Kuu·men it moo·te dhii kiq·doom·
Dhiin HAA·li wil it bee al doon
In HEV·en and in erth al soo,
So it shal been ful wel ik troo,
Gif us al·e on[1] dhis dai
Uu·re bred of iitsh·e day
And forgiv· us uu·re sin·e
Als wee doon uu·re wiidh·erwin·es;
Leet us nokht in fon·diq·e fal·e,
Ook fro ii·vl dhuu shild us al·e.
Aa·men·.

Aa·ve

Marii·e ful of graa·se, wel de[2] be,
God of HEV·ne bee with dhee,
Ov·r- al·e wim·en blist tu[2] bee,
So bee dhe bern dat-s[2] born of dhe.

Kree·do

Ii leev in God al·mi*kh*t·en Faa·der,
Dhat HEV·n-and erth·e maad togaa·der;
And in Dzhee·sus Krist, HIS lee·ve suu·ne,
Uur oo·neliik lov·erd, ik HIM muu·ne,
Dhat of dhe Hoo·li Goost biken·ed was,
Of Marii·e dhe mai·den boorn HE was,
Pii·ned un·der Puns·e Pilaa·te,
On roo·de nail·ed for man·es saa·ke.
Dhar dhoold -e death withuu·ten woold,
And ber·ied was in dhe rotsh·e koold,
Duun til HEL·e li*kh*t·en HE gaan,
Dhe thrid·e dai of death atkaam·,
To HEV·n -e stee*gh* in uur man lii·tshe,
Dhar sit·eth -e in -is faa·dres rii·tshe,
O doo·mes dai shal -e kuu·men agen·
To dee·men deed and lii·ves men.
Ii leev·e on dhe Haa·li Gaast,
Al-HOO·li tshirtsh·e stee·defast,
Men of al·e hoo·li kin·e,
And forgiv·nes· of man·es sin·e,
Up·riis·iq· of al·e men,
And ee·tshe liif ii leev. Aa·men·.

The short PROVERBIAL VERSES, vol. ii, p. 14, are taken from the margin of the Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vi, fo. 21, where they are in a different hand from the text and are probably much later, though, as Mr. Wright observes, "in a hand of the thirteenth century." They contain some peculiarities as: þeise midoutin lesing, for: þese

[1] This line is probably corrupt. The hiatus (al·e on), is unlikely, but to read: (Gif us aloo·ne . . . dhis dai), would be deficient unless we inserted (nuu) or some such word, after (aloo·ne), meaning: give us alone [now] this day. The rhyme is, however, so rough, that criticism is out of the question.

[2] (De) for (dhe) after (wel); (tu) for (dhu) after (blist) which must be taken as a monosyllable, this change of (dhu) into (tu) shewing that the preceding letter was voiceless, that is (t) not (d), as þu would have otherwise been (du), compare the first case, and also (dat) for (dhat) after (bern).

wiþuten lesing = these without lying. This form *þeise* is not named by Stratmann, and is perhaps an individuality. The *ou* in: midoutin stroutende, belong to the transition period, shewn distinctly by: "that *tu*, and *tou*," both of which = *þu*, in two following lines. The form *ielu*, printed *jelu*, for *ȝelu* = yellow, is peculiar, as shewing the complete passage of ȝ into *i*.

In vol. i, p. 89, there is a Hymn to the Virgin, and another on p. 102,[1] preceded by a curious parabolal poem, beginning: "Somer is comen and winter[2] gon," not entirely legible, all taken from MS. Egerton 613, fo. 1 and 2. The first and last are in the same hand, the second in a different hand, but they all belong to the transition period; thus on p. 89 we have: thou, our, flour, ous (twice), foule; but also: hut = out, thu (3 times); also: put = pit, shewing the (y) or (i, e) sound of *u*. The last has: foules = fowls, witoute = without, ous = us, but generally keeps the *u* pure. And the second prayer p. 102, while it has: thu (16 times), flur, withuten, oreisun, tunge, has also: out, foul; and: sunne (3 times) = sin. It is curious to note also: ic chabbe, and ich chabbe, for ich habbe, implying probably the running on of the words thus: (i,tshab·e). The orthography: flehs, for: flesh, is perhaps to be compared with: ihc, for: ich, in the preceding line.

The other poems in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, belonging either to the transition or later periods, do not call for any further remark.

The first seven pieces in the *Early English Poems* taken from Harl. MS. 913, are all assigned to a date prior to 1300, but like the fifteen pieces which follow from Harl. MS. 2277 and ascribed to 1305-10, they belong to the transition period with respect to *ou* and *u*.

In the Sarmun pp. 1-7, the transition period is marked by: ous 1 (the figures refer to the stanzas), nou 2a, mouþ 4, aboute 4, þou 5, wiþoute 7, etc.; against: ure 1, us 3, schuldres 5, luse = *louse* 5, wiþoute prute = *proud* 6 (the adjective always end in *t*; prude 10, pride 12, is the substantive in which *u* = *i*,) acuntis 24, lude = *loudly* 31, ȝur 41, etc. The *u* for *i* is common, as munde kunde = *mind kind* 26, ihuddid 11. The palatalised guttural usually sinks into *i*, as: seiþ 3, mei 8, dai 18, ei hei = *eye high* 22, etc.; but ȝ sometimes remains, as: heiȝ 53, 56, neȝbor 9; þeiȝ = *though* 27. We find also: fleisse meisse = *flesh mass* 6 (see infrà p. 473, n. 4), hir hirist = *herr*, *hearest* 33, file = *vile* 3, drit = *dirt* 7, dritte = *dirt* 10, ihc 13, mov = mow 14, nov = *now* 31, verþing = *farthing* 24, wl = *will* 31, angles = *angels* 33, woni = *to dwell* 51, and these infinitives in *i*, usually accented, occur as will be presently seen, in other parts of the same MS. There is an assonance: sprede wrekke 30, and: virst best 57 may probably be: þrist = *thirst* best, a rhyme of *i*, *e*, but the rhymes in general are not remarkable. The final *e* seems simply disregarded in rhyme and metre, but the metre is so hummocky that it is difficult to make anything of it.

[1] Both are printed in Goldbeck and Mätzner's Altenglische Sprachproben, p. 53.

[2] The *is* here inserted in the printed text of the *Rel. Ant.* is not in the MS.

Take for example the last stanza, p. 7, which may perhaps be read as marked:

Alle þat beþ icommin here	(Al dhat beeth ikum·en HEER
fort to hire þis sarmun	For to HII·re dhis sarmuun·,
loke þat ȝe nab no were	Look·e dhat JE n-ab no weer·e.
for seue ȝer ȝe habbiþ to pardoun.	For sev JEER JE HABTH parduun:)

The whole MS. seems marked by provincialisms, which it is extremely difficult to understand. The first stanza of the XV. SIGNA ANTE JUDICIUM, p. 7, is in the same style, and was probably due to the same author:

Þe grace of ihesu fulle of miȝte	(Dhe graas of Dzhee·su ful of mikht
þroȝ prier of ure swete leuedi	Thrukh prii·er of uur sweet levdii·
mote amang vs nuþe aliȝte	Moot amaq· us nuudh alikht
And euer vs ȝem and saui.	And ev·er us JEEM and saavii·)

Such attempts, however, to give pronunciation, must be viewed with indulgence, they are necessarily very hazardous. In this piece: ysaie profecie 9, must have the vowels in *ai* divided, *y-sa-i-e*. The final *e* in *mercie* 25 is idle, added on to rhyme with *crie* in the same stanza, where it was probably not pronounced, as we have: of ihesu crist merci to cri 80, and

> þe. xii. dai þe fure. elemens sul cri
> al in one heiȝ steuene
> merci ihesu fiȝ mari
> as þou ert god and king of heuene, 177

which gives us another example of *Mari*, see suprà, p. 441, and similarly: to cri, merci 137. Remarkable forms: dotus angus = *doubtful anguish* 113, probably = (duutus· aqgus·) with a Norman *u* = (u), fisses = *fishes* 121, euch uerisse watir = *each fresh water* 125, skeis = *skies* 133, where I suspect an accidental transposition of *ei* for *ie*, as the form is otherwise incomprehensible, fentis = *fiends* 161, fure = four 169, 177, wolny nulni = *wullen-hi newullen-hi*, = *will they n'ill they* 173, maugrei = *maugre* 173, probably a Norman form.

THE FALL AND PASSION, p. 12, has the rhyme: frute dute = *fruit doubt* 23 (line) which is decidedly favourable to the English pronunciation of Norman *u* at that time as (uu) see p. 424, note 3. Remarkable forms: maistre = *mastery* 21, maistri = *mystery* 50, sso = *she* 52, ȝo = *she* 79, flees, = *flesh* 49, as he is manhed *siwed* 97, hou hi lord ssold *siu* þe 105. The following infinitives in *-i* occur: suffri = *to suffer* 66, honuri = *to honour* 72, biri = *to bury* 74, 76; and: sauid isinid 43, being accented on the last syllable imply the same form. The same accent occurs in the rhyme: ipinsed suffred 89, siwed suffrid 97. The rhyme: alowe two 79, seems to be an error.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, p. 15, has also: honuri worþi = *to honour, to worship* 17, and the assonance: iwisse limmes 5. THE FRAGMENT ON THE SEVEN SINS, p. 17, has also: clansi = *cleanse* imperative st. 5, herrid = *horrid*, st. 10, nemeni = *to name* st. 10, woni = *to dwell* v. 9, prute shrute = *proud shroud* v. 10, fleis = *flesh* v. 12, þer is mani man bi peiȝte (= *bepeached, deceived*?), so þe

fend him hauiþ iteiȝte (= *taught*?) 22, susteni = to sustain 58. CHRIST ON THE CROSS p. 20, has: bewonde wnde = *wounded wound* v. 3, fote blode 11, anguis 14, gredind deiend 25, strang hond 26. The RHYME BEGINNING FRAGMENT p. 21, is only remarkable for making *in me* answer to *inne*, but as the trick of beginning a line with the last word of the preceding line is not carried out consistently, this assonance may have no special meaning. The whole examination does not lead to much. The orthography is so singular and so irregular, we might almost say so ignorant, and the dialect so peculiar, that it is of very little assistance. No general result could be deduced. The rhymes are not certain enough to be of much value, and are generally the veriest doggrel conceivable, while the metre is nowhere. In the parts from Harl. MS. 2277, we may notice the false rhymes: poynte queynte p. 66, v. 5, (unless indeed *poynte* is to be Normanized into *peynte*), britaigne fawe p. 68, v. 85, against: britaigne fayne p. 69, v. 133, and the assonance: makede glade p. 108, v. 35. The form *sede* for *seide* is found in: rede sede p. 66, v. 28; p. 68, v. 99, sede mede p. 72, v. 56, dede sede p. 74, v. 48. See infrà, p. 484. But *seide* also occurs, p. 72, v. 58, v. 60, etc., being the regular form.

In an extract from Cott. MS. Vesp. D. IX., (which being of the XV th century, does not properly belong to this place), WHY I CAN'T BE A NUN, p. 138, we find: wept few accept *ihesu* trew observaunce new variaunce p. 139, v. 40, but *ihesu* may not have been intended to rhyme with *few trew new*, because we find a line ending with this name thrown in without a rhyme on the next page 140, v. 88, kyn necessite wyn me omnipotent *Ihesu* present ys thys, etc. In p. 140, v. 100, we find:

> To the for comfort I make my sute
> To have that ioy that lastythe ay,
> For her loue that bare that frute
> Swete ihesu miserere mei.

giving the rhyme: ay mei, the last word being Latin: This may be compared with: Sinay day, in Chaucer, suprà p. 264, and Dr. Gills (eei) p. 114.

In the *Political Songs* Mr. Wright has collected a number of short poems in Latin, Norman French, and English, referring to the XIII th or beginning of the XIV th century. Unfortunately most of the English songs, as: the Song against the King of Almaigne p. 69, Song of the Husbandman p. 149, Song against the Pride of the Ladies p. 153, Satyre on the Consistory Courts p. 155, Song of the Flemish Insurrection p. 187, Execution of Sir Simon Fraser p. 212, Song against the Retinues of Great People p. 237, Elegy on the Death of Edward I. p. 246, are from Harl. MS. 2253, which has adopted the full XIV th century orthography, so that they are of little use here. The principal points are the assonances: lonke songe wlonke thonke p. 156, and longe londe p. 193. There are numerous instances of *u* = (i, e), as: hude prude p. 150, sturne hurne p. 150, wunne sunne p. 153, prude shrude hude p. 153, prude drede p. 190. The apparent rhyme: ded sayde p. 246,

is probably no rhyme at all, but the nature of the stanza is broken and the first and third lines do not rhyme, which is precisely what we find in the next stanza but one, p. 247, where otherwise: sunne Edward, would form a rhyme! Still, as we have just seen, the form *sede* also occurs, and may here be meant (p. 447). Ded gret redde p. 248 must be regarded throughout as an assonance. In: chivalrie deye heyȝe crie p. 249, the second and third words should have been written: dye hye, as often in Chaucer.

Of all the Political Songs the only two which exhibit almost precisely the orthography of the XIII th century, are those from the Harl. MS. 913, viz. The SONG OF THE TIMES, p. 195, and the SONG OF NEGO, p. 210. The last raises no new points, and may be passed over. The first exhibits *ss* for *sch* in: ssold p. 197, also written *schold* in the same page, ssal pp. 201, 203, 204, ssul pp. 202, 205, precisely as in the *Ayenbite*, suprà p. 409. There are some little slips as: feloni = felonie p. 197, line 13, amy lie, ami mei both on p. 200, where *mei* is an error for *me*. The first will not rhyme unless we read: *li'*, which is unusual, but the final *e*'s are lax in this song. The use of *boi* = boy, in: tel me, boi, what hast ido? p. 199, l. 5 is noteworthy. The curious word *i-pilt*, in the Prisoner's Prayer, v. 25, (suprà p. 429, note 1), is well illustrated by the passages

And so men didde that seli asse,
  That trepasid noȝt, no did not gilte,
With ham bothe iwreiid was,
  And in the ditement was ipilt. p. 198.
Godis grame most hi have
  That in the curte the so pilt!

When hit is so, ich vouchsave,
  Ic forgive the this gilte. p. 199.
Ic am iwreiid, Sire, to the,
  For that ilk gilt;
Sire, ichul sker me,
  I ne ȝef ham dint no pilt. p. 200.

The Auchinleck[1] MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, has not thoroughly adopted the XIV th century orthography,[2] and as it belongs to the very beginning of the XIV th century[3] has a claim to

[1] "In the year 1504, the barony or manour of Auchinleck (pronounced *Affléck*) in Ayrshire, which belonged to a family of the same name with the lands, having fallen to the crown by forfeiture, James the Fourth, King of Scotland, granted it to Thomas Boswell." — Boswell's Life of Johnson, anno 1776. "The pronunciation of *Affleck* for *Auchinleck*, was formerly common, but is fast disappearing, and is now confined, I should say, to the lower classes of the parish and neighbourhood." Private letter from Mr. Halkett, Librarian of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, 18 Jan. 1869.

[2] *Nu*, *hu*, occur occasionally, but rarely. *Nu* occurs once in the piece immediately cited, *nu* and *hu* several times in the second piece, which, though last in the MS., is said to be in an older hand. I have not noticed any such forms in Sir Tristrem, the 37th piece.

[3] An "Account of the Auchinleck MS. Advocates' Library (W. 4, 1,) and a catalogue of its contents," forms the fourth appendix to the introduction to Sir Walter Scott's edition of *Sir Tristrem*, to which a facsimile of the first two stanzas of that poem are prefixed It is a quarto of 334 leaves, containing 44 pieces of poetry, on parchment, "in a distinct and beautiful hand, which the most able antiquaries are inclined to refer to the earlier part of the XIV th century. The pages are divided into two columns, unless where the verses, being Alexandrine, occupy the whole breadth of the quarto. In two or three instances there occurs a variation in the handwriting; but as the poems regularly follow each other, there is no reason to believe that such alterations

be considered here. There are two extracts from it, On the King's Breaking his Confirmation of Magna Charta, p. 253 (MS. No. 21), and the Evil Times of Edward II. p. 323 (MS. No. 44). The second only offers the curious orthography: muis huis, p. 326, for: mous hous, and the assonance: hundred wonder p. 344. But the first is very singular. The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth stanzas, containing the sayings of the "iiij. wise men" have a peculiar arrangement of rhymes, differing from the rest of the poem, which may be symbolised thus, like letters shewing rhymes: *a a b c c b d d d e e e.* The last five stanzas stand thus: *a a b c c b.* None of these lines present any difficulty or novelty. The following is the first stanza, which Wright prints in divided lines, but which in the MS. itself runs across the page, although the pages of the MS. are usually divided into two columns, indicating, apparently, that the transcriber considered the final rhymes only as pointing out the divisions.

Len puet fere *et* defere ceo fait il *trop* soue*nt*
It nis nou*þ*er wel ne faire *þ*er*f*ore e*n*gelo*n*d is she*n*t
No*f*tre p*r*i*n*ce de engletere p*ar* le *con*fail de sa ge*n*t
At we*f*tmi*n*fter after *þ*e feire made*n* a g*r*et p*ar*leme*n*t
La chartre fet de cyre ieo le*n*teink *et* bie*n* le crey
It was holde to neih *þ*e fire and is molte*n* al awey
Ore ne say mes q*ue* dire tout i va at*r*ipolay,
hu*n*dred. chapitle. court a*n* shire al hit go*þ* a deuel wey [2]
des plusages de latere ore e*f*cotez vn sarmou*n*
Of iiij. wise me*n* *þ*at *þ*er were whi engelo*n*de is brouht adoun [3]

indicate an earlier or later date than may be reasonably ascribed to the rest of the work; although the satire against Simonie, No. 44, seems rather in an older hand than the others, and may be an exception to the general rule. The MS. was presented to the Faculty of Advocates, in 1744, by Alexander Boswell, of Auchinleck, a Lord of Session, by the title of Lord Auchinleck, and father of the late James Boswell, Esq., the biographer of Dr. Johnson. Of its former history nothing is known. Many circumstances lead us to conclude that the MS. has been written in an Anglo-Norman Convent. That it has been compiled in England there can be but little doubt. Every poem which has a particular local reference, concerns South Britain alone . . . . On the other hand, not a word is to be found in the collection relating particularly to Scottish affairs."

[1] Compare "And lete me slepe, a twenty devel way!"—Cant. Tales 3713.

[2] The passage as we learn by Mr. Wright's note on p. 385, was transferred to his pages from: "an interesting little volume of early poetry, edited and printed privately by David Laing, Esq., and W. B. D. Turnbull, Esq., under the title of 'Owain Miles, and other Inedited Fragments of Ancient English Poetry. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1837.'" The present copy follows a careful transcript obligingly made for me by Mr. Halkett, the Librarian of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, who says: "In *Owain Miles* the editors have divided each line into two; in my transcript you have them as they were originally written. There are no points except a dot after the word hundred, and another after the word chapitle; I am not sure whether they have been put there by design or by accident." On examining the orthography of the two pieces in this MS. given by Wright, and of Sir Tristrem as edited by Scott, we find it very irregular with respect to final *e*, in which it agrees with the MS. of Hampole (p. 410). Similarly, in the poems of the "deeff, sick, blynd," monk John Audelay of Haughmond, four miles from Shrewsbury, written 1426, necessarily from dictation and of course unrevised by the author (edited from MS. Bodl. 546, for the Percy Society, by J. O. Halli-

Now if we adopted Mr. Wright's arrangement in half lines we should be led to suppose that the rhymes were intended to be arranged thus: *a b a b a b c d c d c d e f e f*, and thus make: defere faire Engletere feire, rhyme together. But the first and third words probably ended in (-ee·re) and our previous investigations lead us to consider that the second and fourth ended in (ai·re).[1] We have not hitherto found a single instance in any good XIVth century MS. of *e* rhyming with *ay* or *ey*.[2] The few

well, 1844), the final *e* has apparently no phonetic meaning at all. The whole character of the spelling of Sir Tristrem (MS. No. 37) is northern. In the present short extract we have both *Engelond* and *Engelonde* in the nominative; in the second line *faire* should be *fair* (p. 383), and then of course *feire* must be *feir'* if it is intended to rhyme. *maden a gret parlement*, seems an error for, *made a grete parlement;* Wright reads *made a gret.*

[1] A Somersetshire farming man once asked me if I had seen the (ship) on the (fair), which sounded remarkably like a *ship on fire*, but merely meant the sheep in the fair from which I was walking. This is therefore an existent (fair) pronunciation of the Norman (feire.)

[2] This rhyming of *ey* with *e*, must be distinguished from the double forms *ey*, *e*, in certain words which occurs in a few instances, see suprà p. 265, and compare the double forms *ey*, *i*, pp. 284-286. The apparent rhyme: ded, sayde, p. 448, we have seen may not have been meant for a rhyme at all. Since the text was in type my attention has been directed to some apparent rhymes of *ay*, *e* in the poems of Audelay referred to in the last note but one. It will be advisable to consider these rhymes in this place. We must remember that the poet was both *blind and deaf*, and had an *illiterate scribe*. These three points are well proved by the notice (p. vi., Halliwell's edition, to the pages of which all references will be made): "iste liber fuit compositus per Johannem Awdelay, capellanum, qui fuit *secus et surdus*, in sua visitacione, ad honorem Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et ad exemplum aliorum, in monasterio de Hagmon, anno Domini millesimo cccc.mo vicessimo vi.to cujus anime propicietur Deus." The *secus* for *cecus*, or as we now write *cœcus*, shews the trustworthiness of the scribe. The English part is full of the grossest orthographical eccentricities and inconsistencies, and was probably written by an ignorant brother, whose labours the author was unable to revise either by eye or ear. Under these circumstances we should rather be surprised at the regularity of the rhymes than at the occasional utter forgetfulness of rhyme, as: law withdrawe dais p. 22, (but perhaps *dawes* should be read, see suprà p. 371, Ex. *b.*), leudmen corexeon relegyon p. 24, Christ charyte p. 26, to therfro more p. 40, worlde Lorde rewarde p. 40, reprevyd dispilid p. 60 (both accented on the penultim), Lorde worlde p. 60, Judas cos = *kiss* p. 60, Lord soffyrd p. 61, thorst last p. 64, opus masse p. 73, on-morwe undorne p. 75, dirnes masse p. 76, dynt stont p. 78, masse worse p. 79, prayere honoure p. 79. It is evident from these examples that we must not press Audelay's doggrel rhymes too closely, and certainly not draw any inference from a few isolated examples. There can be no doubt, however, that he did not distinguish short *i* and short *e*, and there seems little doubt that he confused long *i* and long *e* also. Every page offers examples of the first, and the rhyme in *-e*, *-i*, *-y*, *-ye* is the commonest he has. The words, *die*, *high*, *eye*, were to him *dye*, *hye*, *ye* the last was even written *-e*, (p. x), and the two former constantly rhyme *-e*. Mr. Halliwell says (p. xi) that in Shropshire "*i* is still turned into *e*, which may be regarded one of Audelay's dialectical peculiarities, especially in the prefixes to the verbs." Another peculiarity, of the scribe at any rate, is to consider *oi* and *i* as identical, at least in some words. We have already cited *dispilid* = despoiled, p. 60, and we have *dystry* p. 20 but *dystroy* p. 33, *foyre* = fire, p. 48, rhyming to *were*. Another singular rhyme, if any weight is to be attached to it is: hyng drynke p. 61, see suprà p. 192. The word *cros* has various rhymes: was, losse p. 61, choys p. 8,

earlier cases which appear to exist in Havelok, etc., will hereafter be shewn to have probably arisen from errors (p. 473). Could we then

were it evidently stands for *croyse* which is used p. 64 to rhyme with *voyse*. This preliminary examination will enable us to appreciate the examples of *ay* which apparently rhyme with *e*. In the first place, although *-e*, is the commonest rhyme sound throughout the poems, and *-ay* is also frequent, the instances in which *-ay* rhymes with *-e* are very rare. The following are all that I have noted throughout the extracts edited by Mr. Halliwell. In the poem on Henry VI, p. viii, there are 16 lines which should rhyme in *ay*, but in one case the word is *cuntre*, the rhymes being: veray day play away fray day way day aray day cuntre Fryday may betray pray Awdlay. The rhymester was evidently hard up, or he would not have used *day* five times, and if his *ay* had really rhymed to his common *e*, he would certainly have introduced it many times. The single instance might be a case of carelessness, which the blind and deaf man failed to discover and correct. But *country* is one of those words which had a double orthography: cuntre cuntrey, corresponding to two forms in the Norman, which generated two pronunciations in (*-i* -e) in XVII th century (suprà p. 125), and hence probably had two sounds (-ee, -ai) in the XIV th century at least. To this list belong: country, valley, journey, livery, most probably. Hence the error may be merely scribal, *cuntre* for *cuntrey*. *Cumpane*, which at first sight seems to rhyme with *say*, p. 16, is apparently a simple mistake, and the line containing it, which is unnecessary to the sense, should be expunged. It occurs among a set of 78 stanzas of 13 lines each, having the complicated rhyme system *a b a b b c b c d e e e d*. In this particular piece the rhyming words are: spiryt say epocryte pay day *compane* clene say lene mynde by truly cumpany unkynde. That is, this one stanza has 14 lines; and the line which is subversive of the whole rhyme system, is this very one which ends in *compane*. Degre be may p. 44 is also a mere error, it occurs in a stanza of the last kind, corresponding to the *e e e* portion, and on the same page, in the next preceding stanza, in the same portion, we find: ȝeve know laue, which no one would hesitate to consider a false rhyme. To the same category I relegate the example in the same place of the next stanza: sayne eyne sene p. 45, where *sene* = *seen* is the infinitive mood of *see*, y-seyne bene p. 68 = *i-seen been*, are past partici ples, and the spelling of the first word is erroneous, but we have a similar form in Chaucer, suprà p. 265. Bred betrayed p. 70, I class with: wayt algat p. 47, as mere helpless rhymes; if the one could prove that *ay* = (ee), the other would prove *ay* = (aa), for the rhyme: face alas p. 60, would establish long a = (aa). In cownsele asayle batayle p. viii, the first word should have its usual form *counseyl*. In *eme* = modern *aim* p. 12, 37 and often, the *e* is correct, the modern spelling is wrong, the origin being Fr. *esmer* = æstimare. The above are absolutely all the cases observed, and the impression produced on myself by the examination of these rhymes, is, that Audelay pronounced *ay*, *e*, differently, and that the conclusions deduced from other sources apply to these cases also, viz: ay = (ai), e = (e). Nevertheless there are at least two MSS. and there may be more, which certainly confuse *ey*, *ay* with *e*, both in spelling and sound. The most striking of these in the Lincoln's Inn MS. 150, from which Weber has printed the greater part of King Alisaunder (in vol. 1 of Metrical Romances of the XIII th, XIV th and XV th centuries, published from Ancient Manuscripts, with an introduction, notes, and a glossary, by Henry Weber, Esq., Edinburgh, 1810, 3 vols., 8vo.), and which must be carefully distinguished from the Bodl. MS. Laud, I. 74, from which he has taken v. 4772—5989 of the same romance. This poem is supposed to have been written before 1300, and both the MSS. are attributed by Weber to the XIV th century, but Mr. Furnivall and Mr. Skeat date the Lincoln's Inn MS. about 1450. The Bodleian MS. has nothing strange, except: noye daye 5412, ryth nyth 4812 (but: nighth righth 5076) which reminds one of Havelock's peculiar th, infrà p. 477. and there are a few *i*, *e* rhymes, as: clere fire 5342, and some *e*, *a*, as: art cert 5802, but not frequent, and some assonances, as: blith wyf 5138. But on the whole it

from this popular song conclude that all this is a mistake, and suppose that Chaucer, and Gower, and other writers, although frequently hard up for rhymes, never employed such an extremely convenient jingle which lay ready to hand? The conclusion would be hazardous in the extreme, and is certainly unnecessary, for the apparent

is tolerably regular, and admitting the correctness of: cuntrey 4898, 5008, charrey 5096, curreye 5118, tornay play journay noblay 5212, presents no other remarkable orthography. But the Lincoln's Inn MS. is very peculiar, and if we had to deduce pronunciation from its rhymes, we should be badly off indeed. Omitting the false rhymes, 63, 305, 1515, 1708, 3173, etc., the assonances, the cases in which the first syllable of a dissyllable rhymes with a monosyllable as: bridel ride 953, walles al 1876, foughte doughte 2761, certis heort 6544, etc., the rhymes of *a* with *e*, *o* and even *i*, as: wist cast 716, fynde thousand 2403, often spelled *thousynde*, sixe waxe 6038; of *e* with *i*, *a*, *o*; and confining ourselves to the combinations *ei*, *ai*, *oi*, *ui* or *ey*, *ay*, *oy*, *uy*, we find *ei* written for *e* in: leynthe streynth 788, 7351, nobleys 1373, eynde 1573, 1912, cleir 2885, steil 3211, speide neide 3441, yeilded 3791, heynde 4206, yeir 6963, which are conclusive as to confusion in the scribe's mind between these sounds. But we also find *ai* rhyming with *a*, *e*, *i*, *oi*; *ei* with *ai*, *e*, *i*, *uy*; *oi* with *ai*, *i*; *ui* with *e*, *i*, *oi*. These rhymes are so curious that many of them may be cited. AI, A; saide made 525, 7339, barbicans mayne 1591, amiraylis talis 1780, Taran, mayn 3247. AI, E: camelis vitailes 854, bonere = *debonnair* faire 6732, saide lede 6942, saide maied = mede? 7327. AI, I: Akaye Arabye 3399, play dye = deye 3442, bywryghen sayn 4116, raineth schyneth 6450, high contray 7143. AI, OI: y-said anoyed 273, 876, 1287, 1599, and often, play boy 1730, (*boy* is absolutely written *bay* 4376), taile spoile 2133, faile Tysoile 2148, palfray boy 3207, pays = *peace* noise 3373. EI, AI: chevynteyn mayn 3199, reyne mayne 7378. EI, E: thede feide 95, deys = *dais* nobles 1039, ese deys = *dais* 1153, kene eyghnen 1317, yeilde sheldis 2067, seye = *seen* pudre 2179, corteys pes = *peace* 2951, yeld field 2959, steil wel 3419, keip = *keep* deop 3429 (but: kepe deop 3477), seide felawrede 6838, mesteir conseiler 7480. EI, I: nygh fleygh 119, kynde heynde 425, yilde feilde 2956, is deys = *is dais* 3966, eighte knyght 3884, 6042, contrey sygh 6440, wite disseyte 7704. EI, UY: reyn abuyn = *abide* 2991. OI, AI see AI, OI. OI, I: annoyed distryed 129, syghe joye 6060, nigh anoye 6116, anoye dye 6568. UI, E: kuyn = *kine* slen 760, quarter wildfuyr 1902, pruyde wede 2093, there afuyre 7549. UI, I: Tyre wildefuyre 3031. The conclusion seems to be that the writer occasionally pronounced *a*, *ai*, *e*, *ei*, *i*, *oi*, *ui* in the same way = (ee). This must certainly indicate some great peculiarity of pronunciation, and it is sufficient to note its inconsistency with the results already obtained. No more can be said than that some XV century scribes in some part of the country, did perhaps so pronounce. But I cannot think that these rhymes justify our supposing an invariable pronunciation of *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui* in this manner by any speaker. There is another MS. Advocates' Library Jac. V. 7, 27, supposed to have been written in the XV th century, from which Weber has printed his Sir Amadas (Ibid. vol. 3), which exhibits great peculiarities, of which we need only notice: reyr = *rear* 7, leyt = *let* 10, geyt = *get* 24, deytte = *debt* 37, feyr = fere 118, greyt = *great* 156, seyt = *set* 218, deyd reyd = *deed rede* 236, speyke meyte = *speak meet* 284, etc., shewing a complete fusion of *ei*, *e*. The other pieces printed by Weber, and all the other old spelling which I have examined are free from such fusion. The above peculiarities are also absent in the second copy of Sir Amadas printed in: Ghost-thanks or the Grateful Unburied, a mythic tale in its oldest European form, Sir Amadace, a middle North English metrical Romance of the XIII th century, reprinted from two texts with an introduction by *George Stephens*, Cheapinghaven (i.e. Copenhagen), 1860, which Mr. Payne has brought under my notice. With this explanation, therefore, I allow the text to stand unaltered, convinced that although a few words may have had both (ai, ee), and a few provincials may

anomaly is easily explained. The writer began in Norman French, meaning to mix up English with it, just as Norman French, English and Latin are intermixed in a haphazard manner in the Song of the Times, p. 251. In this way he wrote the two first lines, taking the arrangement in the MS., (which did *not* rhyme in the middle); but reverting to Norman French in his third line he threw off a middle rhyme to his first, and then for the sake of symmetry he made his fourth line have a middle rhyme to his second, thus producing, if we count the middle rhymes, the somewhat singular arrangement: *a b c b a b c b*. Naturally enough in adding the next four lines he adopted the more obvious arrangement: *a b a b a b a b*, for the words: cyre fire dire shire, all rhyme;[1] and the words: crey awey Tripolay wey,[2] also rhymed to English ears at least, as (-ai). A question, however, arises whether the Norman French: crey, Tripolay, ended in (ai) as well as the English: awey, wey. Of the latter we can at present feel little doubt, of the former there may be considerable cause for hesitation. In modern French *ei*, *ai*, are in most words called (EE), and the stanza we have been considering has been relied upon to establish that *ai*, *ei* in English had the sound of (ee), on the presumption that: defere, faire, Engleterre, feire, were all intended to rhyme in (ee·re).[3] If we take the arrangement of the lines in the MS. itself, there is no room at all for this assumption, because in fact we have only ten rude Alexandrines, rhyming thus: *a a a a b b b b c c*, at their ends, and occasionally, but not essentially, rhyming their middles. As, however, the other view is strongly insisted on, it is advisable, without further reference to an isolated song which can really establish nothing, to enter upon an examination of the probable value of *ei*, *ai*, in old Norman, a question so extensive and so beset with difficulties that it is impossible to discuss it fully.[4]

The conclusions to which I have been led by an examination of all the rhymes in Wace's Roman de Rou,[5] and several other Norman

have used (ee) for *ei* (ei, ai) in some words at a very early period precisely as Hart did in the XVI th century (p. 122), the great majority of educated men, and all speakers of the Court dialect said (ei) or (ai) where *ei*, *ai* were written, down to the middle or end of the XVI th century, and believing that the hypothesis of an original (ee) sound, followed by an (ai) pronunciation in the XVI th century as distinctly laid down by Sir T. Smith (p. 121), which again became (ee) in the XVII th, is untenable.

[1] *Fire* has a dative *e*; *shire* ags. scire an essential *e*. The word *shire* is still pronounced (shiir) by many, suprà p. 275, note 3. Cyre, dire, were French (siir*e*, diir*e*) anglicized, perhaps to (*sii*·re, d*ii*·re). The rhyme was therefore (-ii·re) or (-*ii*·re) in all, or the first in the French and the second in the English.

[2] Mr. Wright prints *way*, Mr. Halkett transcribes *wey*.

[3] Rapp has adopted the pronunciation (ee) for *ai* in old French, see infrà, p. 509, note 1.

[4] See the previous remarks, p. 438.

[5] Le Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie, par Robert Wace, poète normand du XIIe siècle, publié pour la première fois, d'après les manuscrits de France et Angleterre, avec des notes pour servir à l'intelligence du texte, par *Frédéric Pluquet*, Rouen 1827, 8vo, 2 vols., 16547 verses.

poems, are that *ei*, *ai*, when written were always meant to indicate the diphthongs (ei, ai) or the dissyllables (e,i) and (a,i), but that they were occasionally employed, perhaps by a scribal error, for simple *e* (e). It also appears tolerably certain that in a small series of words both (ai) and (e) were pronounced at a very early period, and that in other cases, by the same sort of habit which at the present day leads an Englishman to terminate his (*ee*, *oo*) in (i,u), thus (*ee*i, *oo*u), and which led him in the last century to palatalise *k*, *g* into (kj, gj) before (æ, ɘi),—habits which, it is important to observe, exist in full force at the present day in Icelandic, the living representative of the language spoken by the Norsemen before they acquired Normandy, and therefore probably indicating the tendency of the pronunciation these would adopt—the Normans introduced an unhistorical, but really pronounced (i) after *e*, *a*, in many words; so that this introduced *i* was not an idle orthographical ornament, but implied an actual alteration of sound. Whether the sounds (ei, ai) were kept as distinct as they now are in modern French *conseil*, *travail*, it would be difficult to determine, but they were certainly confused in writing, and it is probable that to English ears, which seem to have long confused the sounds, they sounded the same as the ordinary English (ai).[1] The existence of the sounds (ei, ai) in *vieil*, *ail* and such words, seems indeed to imply a prior (ei, ai) pronunciation, because, as we have every reason to suppose that the palatisation of the *l* in (lj) and even (ɟh) or its entire absorption in (i), as (vjei, ai), is comparatively modern, and we know that *l* had the contrary tendency to labialisation after the same vowels *e*, *a* in French, compare *eux*, *aux*, it seems probable that this palatisation was generated by a preceding (i) and did not conversely generate the (i). Supposing these conclusions were correct, an Englishman, at least, would rhyme: crey awey Tripolay wey, as we have supposed, in (-ai). The following is a brief statement of some of the grounds on which these conclusions rest.

Both *ai* and *ei* occasionally represent divided vowels and not diphthongs, in which case the French editors generally write *aï*, *éi*, but it is more convenient to use the ordinary signs *aï*, *eï* with Dr.

[1] Modern Englishmen readily hear all combinations which approach in sound to their (ɘi), as (ɘi). Compare p. 123, note 4. Observe the common error (kuu·dɘil) for (ku dœi) *coup d'œil*. See also the various Scotch sounds, p. 290, which Englishmen usually find the greatest difficulty in distinguishing. When I was recently endeavouring to make a literary English friend appreciate the difference (ei, ai), I entirely failed, and he heard both sounds as (ɘi). The Dutch *ei*, *ij* = (ei, ɘi) as I heard them (p. 295, note 1), are both heard as (ɘi) by Englishmen, and as (ai) by Germans. The modern Icelandic diphthongs corresponding to *ei*, *ai* are written *ei*, *æ* and pronounced (*ee*i, aa*i*) with a distinct and lengthened primary, and an extremely abbreviated secondary element. Compare the effect of the similar sound (*ee*i) of southern English long *a* at Tenby, p. 272, note 3. Also observe the actual change of long *a* into (ei) or (æi), as (ræin·*i* dæi) for *rainy day*, among the children of the uneducated classes in London, pointed out to me by school-teachers to whom it occasioned difficulty, see p. 294 and note 2. The change of (ee) into (ei) and thence (ai) is therefore not merely à priori likely from Norse habits, but actually corroborated by existing English uses.

Delius.[1] These divisions occur even in words which in modern times have received the sound of (ee) or (EE), as well as in such words as: poiz fu ocis en traïson 51,[2] et en France mainte envaïe 135, guerpi ont toz li plein païs 529, where the separation still remains in: trahison, envahir, pays, and the pronunciation has altered in the last word only.

Aider in the Norman war-cry is always *aïe;*

Franceiz crient: Monjoe. e Normanz: Dex[3] *aïe.* 4665

The complete: aïder, occasionally occurs, and this divided form seems etymologically more ancient than the diphthongal: aider, which is however more common.[4] It is worthy of remark that the diphthongal pronunciation (ai·der) remained well into the XVI th century, as it is classed with: aymant, hair, as having both vowels pronounced by Meigret (suprà p. 118), and Ramus, 1562, classes: paiant gaiant aidant (Livet, p. 205). The older pronunciation of this one word, therefore does not admit of doubt.

Par false e par feinte *haïne*
Fu faite ceste desaisine. 15670

This word: haine, is now pronounced (een), Féline writes (en), but: hair is (a,iir) not (eer, air), haissable (a,isabl'). The verb is now very variable: je hais, tu hais, il hait; nous haïssons, vous haïssez, ils haïssent. The old French: hadir, cited by Diez, seems to imply the greater antiquity of the divided vowels.

[1] Maistre Wace's St. Nicholas. Ein altfranzösisches Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts aus Oxforder Handschriften, herausgegeben von Dr. Nicolaus Delius, Bonn, 1850, 8vo. pp. 95. "Eben so unentbehrlich erscheinen die Trennungspunkte über zwei Vokalen, die sonst, zur Beeinträchtigung des Verses, für einen Diphthong gelesen würden, z. B. *eü*, *oï*, u. s. w. Die Methode französischer Editoren im ersteren Falle *éu*, *blescéure* u. s. w. zu schreiben, ist schwerlich zu rechtfertigen, da ein so betontes *é* wohl kaum von dem folgenden Vokal verschluckt worden wäre, wie das in der neuern Sprache doch geschehen ist; *eu*, *blessure* u. s. w." Preface, p. xi. Dr. Delius's reason may admit of dispute. The proper method is, of course, *to follow the manuscript*, and leave the rest to the reader, but in the present case I shall use *aï*, *eï*, as the object is to point out such cases to the eye.

[2] The simple figure refers to the verse in the Roman de Rou. The letters B, E, refer to Benoit (suprà p. 438, note 2,) and Eustache (Roman d'Eustache le Moine, edited by F. Michel, Lond. 1834, 8vo).

[3] On this extraordinary form *Dex* for *Deus*, Dr. Rapp remarks (Phys. d. Spr. ii, 86) that the black letter v, x of the middle ages only differed by a small tail affixed to the latter, and this he supposes induced the scribes to abbreviate the frequent termination *us*, *ux*, that is, *vs*, *vx*, as they should have been written, into *x*, which meant *v* with a subscribed *x*, and also led them to write *x* for *v*. Modern editors, he complains, have overlooked this, and hence written this pseudo *x* for *v*, in characters where the resemblance of form has altogether disappeared. So that now we find generally at one time *als*, *els*, *fils*, at another *ax*, *ex*, *fix*, and even where there was no *s*, at one time *diu*, at another *diex*, or *dieu*, which are, Dr. Rapp thinks, entirely due to errors of writing or reading. Hence we must always determine in the printed copies whether *x* stands for *s*, *u*, or *us*. To this abbreviation Dr. Rapp also attributes the German proverb, to make one an *x* for a *u*, "einem ein X für ein U machen," that is, substitute the false for the true, which he thinks is a proof that the custom was objected to even in the middle ages.

[4] It. aïta, Pr. ahia, O. Fr. aïde aïe, Fr. aide, Eng. aid, It. aïtare, Pr. aidar, Fr. aider. Donkin's Diez's Rom. Dic. sub *ajuto*.

Mult veïssiez . . . .
Homes a terre jambeter,
E chevals resnes *traïner*. 6737-44

The modern French is (treen*e*). The divided vowels again appear to be more ancient.[1]

Ausi cum glaive ist de *gaïne*
U cum lion prent sa rabine. B. vol. i. p. 16.

Here again the modern French is (geen), but the divided vowels are more ancient.[2] For *eï*.

Emme sa fille fu *reïne*
A lie fu Engleterre encline. 6548

The modern French is (reen), but the *g* extruded from *regina* shews the divided vowels to be the more ancient, and they were more common in this word in old Norman. Even the form: roïne is found in Wace's Brut.

Grant partie sor la marine
Malgre sa feme la *roïne* v. 43.

Compare also

Tu *meisme*, dist Rou, as fet ton jugement. 2029

The following examples are curious:

Sire, dist un Visconte, jo vos dirai ja veir,
Cele vile n'est pas legiere a *asseïr*
Par l'ewe e par li pont povez sovent *veïr*
Chevaliers e serjanz cha dedenz recheveir. 4196
Turna sei pur li cors *veïr*:
Gis tei, dist il, ne te moveir. 5462
En la boisiere volt *veïr*,
Ne sai s'il out de rien espeir. 5688

Here we see a divided: veïr, rhyming with an undivided: -eir. Now the hypothesis that *ïr* was in such a case pronounced as *eir*, seems contrary to all possibility or probability. But this might be simulated by the prefixing of an *e*, thus making the ordinary: veir into: vëeir, so that in this case we should not so much have a divided *eï*, as an omitted *e*. This notion is partly sustained by comparing

A plusors des Baronz a monstre son cunseil;
Si l'en tindrent trestuit a bon et a *feïl*. 3314
Ki li donouent tel cunseil
Ne li unt pas este *feeil*. 8483

where the same word *feïl*, L. fidelis, rhyming with the same word *cunseil* is at one time spelt *feïl* and at another *feeil*, which I have interpreted by a diæresis. This may however have been only a scribal accident. Still this insertion of *e* is similar to the familiar use of *u* or *eü* as the metre seems to require. This explanation hardly applies to

Normendie prendront e tendront soubs lor peiz
E se voudrent la France partiront entr' eïz, 3633

[1] It. traíno, Sp. tragin, Pr. trahi, Fr. E. train (O. Fr. traïn), from trahere; vb. It. trainare, Pr. trahinar, Fr. trainer. The suffix íno is not added to verbs, so the Ital. and Sp. forms may have been borrowed from the Pr. Fr. trahim traïm. Donkin's Diez.

[2] It. guaína, Fr. gaine, O. Fr. gaïne, Rou. waine, W. gwain a sheath; from vagina. Milanese has guadinna, Venetian guazina. Donkin's Diez.

and it seems more natural to suppose that (e,i) and (ei) were found sufficient rhymes, when a trouvère was hard pressed. But whatever explanation is adopted, we must remember that whereas *veir* is generally a monosyllable, it is made a dissyllable in these places for the exigencies of the metre, which could hardly have been done unless it contained within itself the elements of resolvability, by containing two vowel sounds usually diphthongizing. This reminds us of the division of *ueine*, *mayn* into *ueïne*, *maïjn* for the exigencies of the music only, and even against the metre, in the Prisoner's Prayer, p. 432, line 7, and p. 433, line 6, of the music, which certainly could not have been attempted if both vowels had not been sounded. See also the apparent division of the diphthong in Chaucer, suprà p. 264, and Havelok, infrà p. 476. The double orthography: esmaier, esmaai, the last of which rhymes with *ai*, in:

Guert, dist Heraut, ne t' *esmaier*,
Dex nos pot bien, s'il volt, aidier. 13015
Guert, dist il, nos anemiz creissent;
Chevaliers vienent et espeissent,
Mult part en vient, grant poor *ai*;
Unkes maiz tant ne m' *esmaai*. 13027

is scarcely comprehensible on the supposition that *a* was not clearly pronounced.

These quotations seem to establish the existence of *ei*, *ai* as diphthongs, and as divided vowels with the pronunciations (ei, ai) and (e,i, a,i) and the confusion of *ei*, *ai* when *ai* was an undoubted diphthong as in *aider*, compare *sentreeident* = s'entr'aident, in the Norman version of the Proclamation of Henry III, p. 502, l. 2. The question then becomes whether this pronunciation was universal, or whether *ei*, *ai* were not occasionally pronounced (ee) as at present.

Now in the first place we must not lose sight of the fact that several words were spelled indifferently with *e* or *ai*.

Odes n'en volt pur li rien *fere*,
Orguil respundi e *cuntrere*. 6612
Cil n'en osa plus nient *fere*
Dez ke li Dus le rova *tere*. 7057
Ki a sun cuer vunt a *cuntraire*
Maiz n'en pot il a cel tems *faire*. 8433
E de la grant destrucion
Ke paen a Dol orent *fet*:
S'il en France venir les *lait*. 6946
Se il nel fet, a nul jur *mais*
N'ara trieves de li ne *pais*. 8453
Mez par li bons clers ki l'escristrent. 37
Ne *mez* tant com l'en vait disant. 59
Sul Deus est sachanz e *mestre*
D'Occean fist eissir e *naistre* B. vol. i. p. 5

Compare: estre maistre ib. p. 10. If we examine old French, as distinct from Norman, we shall find the interchange of *ai*, *e* constant. It is almost impossible to open Roquefort's Dictionnaire at hazard without finding examples. But at this early period, XII th or XIII th century, I have not yet seen the confusion in many words. In the Roman de Rou, the only final words in *-ere* for *-aire* which

I have noticed are: fere, tere, contrere, and these, so far as I have observed, do not rhyme with words that are not also spelled with *ai*. Such words would, therefore, be probably words of double sounds, and if we met a rhyme like: faire cuntrere, we should naturally suppose that the scribe had mistaken in spelling one of the words. Thus, in the lines just cited, for: fet lait, read fait lait. This is precisely similar to the double forms in Chaucer: dye deye, ye eye, etc. (suprà p. 284-6.) That the change had taken place in a large number of words in the XIV th century we see by such English words as: ese, pees, cler = *aise*, *paix*, *clair*, in Chaucer, but the double form: ese eyse, shew that the tradition at least, of the old diphthongal form was not lost in England (p. 265). In this examination it would be necessary for certainty to revert to original manuscripts of a known date, for at a late period scribes must necessarily have confused spellings which had come to be identical in signification.

The Normans, if they carried with them Norse traditions, as interpreted by modern Icelandic,[1] into the French pronunciation, must have had a tendency to palatisation; they must have been fond, that is, of prefixing or subjoining *i* to any other vowel, either always or occasionally. This is fully borne out in the Roman de Rou. Thus, for preceding *i*: triege 1362, trieves 1320, legiere 1323, aidier 13016, chierte 1571, cunquiere 4677, similarly matiere, baniere, chief; mangie, eslaissie, E. p. 4, the practice being common. For a succeeding *i* we have the frequent termination *-aige* co-existing with *-age*, as langage usaige 5217, messaige passaige 10790, rivaiges damaiges[2] 127, and: tuit = *tout*, *tous* 1074, trestuit = *très tous* 1076, where the change is made to rhyme with: s'enfuit, muit, deduit, but all the forms: tuit, tut, tot, are found. Now to this Norman tendency I attribute the addition of an *i* to a pure *e*, as in dei = *dé* 3770, creimon 14966, compare cremuz 15049, and such common forms as: sei mei tei dei mescrei lei porkei 2021-8, meiz 3636, which are all alterations of a Latin *e* in the direction of palatalisation, whereas the French forms: soi moi toi etc. = (sue mue tue) etc. are in the opposite direction of labialisation.[3] Compare also: vezins 186, with: veizin 2292, which seem to show how Latin *i* passed through Norman *e* before it became Norman *ei*, as a palatalisation of the *e*. From insufficient research I have not met with *-tei* for *-te*, answering to the Latin *-tas*, but Mr. Payne says he has found in *Lymage del Monde*, Harl. MS. 4333, dated 1246, all the forms: pouretei humilitei ueritei, vanitei, vanite, and similar

[1] See an account of Icelandic, infrà § 4, No. 2. See also suprà p. 454.

[2] In addition to the observations at the close of the note on p. 120, M. l'abbé Delalonde, (p. 438, n. 3), says: "La pronunciation *rivaige*, etc., n'existe pas dans la Seine-Inférieure, sauf à St. Valery-en-Caux, où l'on pourrait trouver quelque chose d'analogue: on dirait plutôt à St. Valery *rivége*: mais il faut noter que l'accent Valeriguais diffère sensiblement de l'accent cauchais; à St. Valery on *ferme* les lettres: *a* devient *é*, et *è* devient *i*. Je n'ai jamais entendu dire *rivaïge*."

[3] See suprà p. 131, note, col. 1; p. 138, note, col. 1; and p. 187. A lady informs me that (sue, mue, tue,) etc., were the received pronunciations, when she was in French Canada.

varieties in the past participle. I am inclined to class these forms with the others as Norman palatalisations, but of less frequent occurrence than those with which we are so familiar, and confined to particular writers and localities.

This discussion is necessarily left in a very incomplete form, and it is evident that lengthy researches would be necessary to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Nevertheless, it seems to me, that a high degree of probability has been attained for the theory that when the scribe wrote *ei*, *ai* he meant (ei, ai), or (eei, aai).[1] The true English diphthongs were derived from the Saxon, *eg*, *ag*, *æg*, and passed through (eɹh, aɹh, æɹh) most probably, to become finally fused into (ai). They do not in any respect depend upon the Norman, and hence, from the rhyming of: awey wey, both from ags. *weg*, and hence both necessarily (wai), with the Norman: crei Tripolay, in the passage which has led to this discussion, (suprà p. 449), we should conclude that the Anglo-Normans said (-ai) rather than allow the unproved theory that the Anglo-Normans of the XIII th century called: crei Tripolay (kree Tripolee), to establish by a single example the English pronunciation of: awey wey, as (awee· wee), in contradiction to the evidence that the diphthongal (awai· wai) were recognised by Dr. Gill as late as 1621, and still exist dialectically. Such a conclusion would be similar to the theory which, starting from modern use, makes old English long *i* = (əi), finds the same sound in Anglosaxon, and even imagines that the old Norman was pronounced so in England, so that the rhymes: cyre fire dire shire of our song (p. 449) should be: (səir fəir dəir shəir), an hypothesis which our examination of long *i* in the XIV th century (pp. 270–297) must render extremely improbable.[2]

[1] Mr. Joseph Payne, as a consequence of his researches on Norman orthography, etc. (suprà p. 438, note 1), dissents from the conclusions in the text respecting the Norman value of *ei*, *ai*, which he believes to have always had the sound (ee), and he considers that the French rhymes cited suprà p. 264 would tend to prove that Chaucer also pronounced his *ei*, *ai* as (ee). So far as I understood, he considers that *ei*, *ai* had the same sound (ee) from the earliest times in England, but that *ai*, *ei* had the sound (ai) in the English of the XVI th century, as well as that of (ee) which Hart accepts as the only sound, suprà p. 122. The reader is referred to pp. 118-124, p. 238, pp. 263-266, to the rhyme ay, mei = English *aye*, Latin *mei*, p. 447, and to the use of aʒʒ, eʒʒ in Orrmin, infrà p. 489, as well as to the preceding investigation, for the reasons which lead me to the conclusion that *ei*, *ai* were (ei, ai), or simply (ai) from the earliest times to the end of the XVI th century, allowing the northern habit of (ee) to have co-existed from, at least, the beginning of the XVI th century in Scotland, suprà p. 410, note 3, and perhaps at a still earlier period in some districts of England, probably north-midland, suprà p. 452, note, col. 2, although even there it is unlikely that the forms (ei, ai) had invariably the sound of (ee). See also infrà p. 473, note 1. I much regret that owing to Mr. Payne's researches not being yet (April, 1869) in type, I am unable to examine the proofs which he has adduced, but no one can hereafter properly appreciate the evidence on which a decision has to be taken, without thoroughly examining what he has so carefully and conscientiously adduced.

[2] Nevertheless as M. Le Héricher has advanced an opinion that the pronunciation *ai* (ai) for long *i* was by no means unknown to the old Norman language, and has stated that it is even known in the modern Norman dialect, it is necessary to consider what he has

Our knowledge of English pronunciation in the XIII th and XIV th centuries, is now so much more certain than any knowledge which

advanced. The following are the words of his assertion, Histoire et Glossaire du Normand de l' Anglais, etc., i. 27, "On retrouve en Normandie l' I ouvert des Anglais, c'est-à-dire Aï. Dans la Hague on dit: "Il est en praïson;" c'est-à-dire prison, "il est jolai," c'est-à-dire joli. Ce son d'ailleurs n'était pas étranger au vieux normand, comme le prouve ce vers de Wace:

Eve est isle, Zornée (thorn) est espaine (épine)
Soit rain, soit arbre, soit raine.

Les paysans de Molière, c'est-à-dire de l'Ile-de-France, prononcent quelquefois ainsi; voyez dans l'acte II de *Dom Juan*: 'Chagraine, Chopaine.' Mais les exemples sont assez nombreux en vieux normand; outre celui de Wace nous pouvons en citer un de Beneois:

Noise, meslée n'ataïne,
Gardez que chascun en devine.

Nous pouvons encore en citer un moderne, tiré d'une chanson patoise, sur le nom propre Edeline:

Vous y v'là donc, monsieur Edlaine.
(*Condoléance haguaise*, par Edeline.)

Le paysan bas-normand rentre dans la prononciation anglaise de l'Y final, par exemple *To sanctify*, lorsqu'il dit "Tu betifaïes," tu dis ou fais des bêtises; et il prononce *Envaie*, envie, comme l'Anglais prononce *Vie*, apocope du mot normand. Du reste, c'est aussi la prononciation de Picardie, où le mot "Arnould daïne" est devenu célèbre. Le normand a traduit en *ei* l'I du latin, que le français a traduit en *oi*: *Deit* (digitus), *Freid* (frigidus), *Peil* (pilus), *Neir* (niger), *Peis* (pisus), *Sei* (sitis). C'est ainsi que la forme primitive *Franceis*, *Angleis*, *Daneis* représente *Franci*, *Angli*, *Dani*." We have seen the uncritical manner in which this author cites Palsgrave, suprà p. 120, note, making him assert that in the French of his time A was pronounced as the modern French *a*, *ai*, whereas Palsgrave gives *a* as the general sound, and *aï* not *ai*, that is (ai) not (EE), as a sound of *a* in a very limited class of words. I therefore considered it necessary to check the assertions in the above quotation as well as I could. My friend Mr. W. Babington, being resident at Havre when this passage came under my consideration, obligingly made inquiries for me of the vicars of Notre Dame at Havre, Messrs. Herval and Le Duc, and of Norman gentlemen from the different departments of Seine Inférieure, Calvados, Orne and Eure, but could find no trace of this pronunciation of long *i* as *aï* (ai). M. l' abbé Delalonde (suprà, p. 438 n. 3) whom I also consulted on this point, writes to me: "*I* changé en *aï* est tout à fait étranger à notre contrée." But respecting "Arnould daïne," he says: "Le *célèbre* proverbe est totalement inconnu chez nous; il signifie bien: *Arnould dîne*, ... quant à la manière de prononcer le mot *dîner*, je le représenterais plutôt ainsi: *deïnner*, et cette prononciation est fort répandue parmi les paysans." This probably means (DEENE). As, however, none of these inquiries had extended to the precise district pointed out by M. Le Héricher as that in which *aï* was said for long *i*, viz. la Hague, the peninsula containing Cherbourg, I wrote to M. Totain, the curé of Beaumont, the nearest town to Cape de la Hague, and he has favoured me with the following reply: "Étranger au pays de la Hague que je n'habite que depuis quelques années, je ne suis pas autant au courant que beaucoup d'autres de la prononciation des habitans. J'ai cependant interrogé quelques personnes de la localité que j'habite, et elles m'ont affirmé que, dans le canton de Beaumont, nulle part on ne dit: *praïson* pour prison, ni *jolaï* pour joli; ni: *tu bêtifaïes* pour bêtifies. On dit: il est parti en prison; il est jôli—tu dis ou tu fais des bêtises. On ne dit pas non plus *envaïe* pour envie." In a subsequent communication, M. Totain says: "Mon Maire, M. Le Taillis, Docteur médecin, originaire de Montebourg," a small town fifteen miles S.S.E. of Cherbourg on the same peninsula, "m'a affirmé que la prononciation: il est jolaï, il est en praïson, tu bêtifaïs, qui n'est pas usité dans la Hague, l'est très généralement parmi les habitants de Montebourg et des environs." (suprà p. 297, note.) After this examination we may feel certain that the pronunciation of long *i* as (ai) adduced by M.

we possess of the old Norman pronunciation, that, as it is in general derived from independent sources, we are rather justified in reversing the process of investigation and using rhymes of English and

Le Héricher is a remarkably circumscribed local pronunciation of no historical value, although it has the phonetic importance of shewing that the change of (ii) to (ai) is not confined to England, Germany, and Holland, but has an analogue, confined indeed to a very small district, but still existent in Normandy. We proceed then at once to what bears more directly on our present investigation, an examination of the evidence on which he attributes this pronunciation to the old Norman of the XII th century. M. Le Héricher does not give the reference to Wace and it was not without considerable difficulty that I discovered the passage he apparently meant to cite in Roman de Rou, vol. ii, p. 105, v. 10659. Wace is explaining the meaning of the English word *Zonee* as he writes it, that is, *Thorney*, Thorn island, on which Westminster Abbey was built, and says—not what M. Le Héricher has written, but—

Ee est isle, *zon* est espine,
Seit rainz, seit arbre, seit racine.

All trace of an *aï* = (ai) sound here disappears. The next passage cited from Beneois (Benoit?) again without any reference, I have been unable to verify, but supposing that it is correctly cited —a very hazardous supposition, after the above misquotation—the metre requires the separation of the syllables *a-ta-i-ne*, and the rhyme becomes regular. Roquefort gives the verb under the forms: atainer, ataigner, atayner, athir, atiner = *nuire*, referring to the low Breton *atayna*, and the substantive in the forms: atahin, ataine, atainement, atayne, atenes, athaine, athine, atie, atine, attaine, attine = *haine*. The word was evidently pronounced in a variety of ways, and it is not an example which establishes anything. From M. Le Héricher's assertion with which he introduces this instanee, that there are "numerous" examples of the rhyming of *aï* with *i* in old Norman, it would seem that he had confused the diphthong (ai) with the divided vowels (a, i), and that when, as is quite right, proper, and consistent, (a,i) rhymes with (i), he concluded that (ai) rhymes with (i), which is perfectly different. Certainly no one who can confuse the two cases, is competent to make use of rhymes to determine pronunciation. We may therefore dismiss M. Le Héricher's assertion that the pronunciation *aï* (ai) for long *i* was not unknown to the old Normand, as perfectly destitute of foundation, neither of his examples bearing in the least upon it, and both discrediting his method of research. My own examination of all the rhymes in Wace's Roman de Rou has not produced a single instance of this monstrosity. In the modern example from La Hague, as the author writes *Edlaine* and not *Edlaïne*, this does not seem to be a case in point, but appears to refer to some other dialectic tendency similar to that cited by M. Delalonde of *deïnner* for *dîner*. I have not been able to see or hear of a copy of the poem *Condoléance Haguaise* cited by M. Le Héricher. Respecting the two words cited from *Don Juan*, we must remember that Molière lived in the XVII th century, hence his *ai*, not *aï*, should mean (ee). There are many curious spellings in *Le Festin de Pierre*, Act 2, sc. 1, as *ai* for *oi* and conversely, *ar* for *er*, *i* for *u*, but perhaps no cases of *ai* for *i* except those cited: "Iglia que tu me *chagraines l'esprit*, franchement." "Je m'en vais boire *chopaine* pour me rebouter taut soit peu de la *fatigue* que j'aie eue." The *esprit*, *fatigue* shew that there was no general change. M. Totain says in reference to words in *-ine*, as "poitrine, chagrine, vermine, chopine, etc., nos paysans les prononcent généralement comme s'il y avait: *éne* ou *aine*. Ainsi ils disent; Viens bêre une chopéne ou une chopaine, c'est-à-dire; Viens boire une chopine." This confirms the above view of *Edlaine*. After this examination it would be unsafe to build upon M. Le Héricher's account of Norman pronunciation, which begins with an assertion very far from being borne out by his subsequent remarks, even supposing them correct: "Quand la prononciation normande n'existera plus, on pourra la retrouver presque tout entière, dans la prononciation anglaise."—*Credat Judæus !*

Norman to elicit the English pronunciation of Norman. Of course it is necessary to be sure that apparent rhymes are meant to be such, and to exclude assonances when consonants are to be determined, and not to deduce anything from single instances, which may be only scribal errors. For example the passage last cited (p. 449) could not be used to deduce the pronunciation of any of the Norman words, except: tere, sarmoun, which certainly rhyme with: were, adoun, in the last stanza, and which must therefore have been called (tee·re, sarmuun·), an important conclusion as respects the last word, as it excludes the idea of the English having heard any approach to the modern French nasality in the last word. It is evident that in the former part of the stanza the Norman words may rhyme with Norman and the English with English throughout, as shewn by the italics for the Norman in: *defere sovent*, faire shent, *Engletere gent*, faire parlement; *cyre crey*, fire awey, *dire Tripolay*, shire wey, and hence no information would result. The construction of ballads is so loose that we have really no right to assume anything else, if we take the middle rhymes into account.

The following lines are curious (Pol. Songs, p. 49, from Harl. MS. 978, undoubtedly of the XIII th century, suprà p. 420, n. 1).

> Competenter per *Robert*, *robbur*[1] designatur:
> Et per *Richard riche hard* congrue notatur;
> *Gilebert* non sine re *gilur* appellatur;
> *Gefrei*, si rem tangimus, in *jo frai* commutatur.

The consonants must here not be pressed too hard, and we cannot be certain that *Robert* was pronounced *Rober* as at present. The *Gilebert*, *gilur* = Gilbert guiler, shew the identity of Norman and English *i* long, guaranteed as (*ii*, ii) by the present and perhaps ancient short vowel in the first syllable of Gilbert; and *Gefrei*, *jo frai* = je ferai, is useful in assigning the pronunciation of Geoffrey as (Dzhef·rai·). But (Dzhef·ree·) must have also been in use, see p. 498. There is scarcely anything else which is useful in the Pol. Songs, but the following may be noted, the French words being italicised as before: *pas* was p. 189, *Dé* be p. 191, Boloyne *moyne* assoygne loyne Coloyne Sesoyne p. 191, *Dée* contree p. 216, *eglise* wise p. 251, and the Latin: *custodi* mody p. 251.

There are three poems from Univ. Camb. MS. Gg. 4, 27, in which many French rhymes occur.[2] This MS., from which also the Chaucer Society are printing the Canterbury Tales, is supposed to belong to the first half of the XV th century, but evidently cannot belong to a Southern locality on account of its treatment of the final *e*.[3] Although

[1] In the spelling *robbur*, *gilur* the *u* stands for *e* as usual; the English reader should not think of such a sound as (ə) or (ɪ).

[2] These were printed 11 July 1864 for private circulation by Rev. H. Bradshaw, of King's College, Cambridge, to whose kindness I am indebted for the copies from which I quote.

[3] See an interesting account of this MS. and its numerous peculiarities, prefixed to the Chaucer Society's reprint. It may be compared with Audelay (suprà p. 450, note 2), in the interchange of *o* with *a*, *e*, *u*, the use of *ony* for *any*, the frequent use of *e* for *i*, the neglect of final *e*, and in many other points, so that its authority on questions of Southern pronunciation is very slight.

these rhymes do not properly belong to the period of this chapter, this seems the most appropriate place for their consideration. The first stanzas of the poems are as follows:

I. De Amico ad Amicam.

1. A celuy qui pluys eyme en Mounde
Of alle tho that I haue founde
Carissima
Salu; od treye amour
With grace ioye and alle honour
Dulcissima
2. Sache; bien pleysant et beele
That I am ry;t in good heele
Laus cristo
Et moun amour done vous ay
And also thynowene ny;t and day
In cisto

II. Responcio

1. A soun treschere et special
Fer and ner and oueral
In mundo
Que soy ou salt; et gre
With mouth word and herte fre
Iocundo
2. Ieo vous san; debat
That ;e wolde of myn stat
Audire
Sertefyes a vous ieo say
I wil In tyme whan I may
Venyre

III. [The Songs of the Birds]

1. In may whan euery herte is ly;t
And flourys frosschely sprede and sprynge
And Phebus with hise bemys bry;te
Was in the bole so cler schynynge
That sesyn in a morwenynge
Myn sor for syghte to don socour
With inne a wode was myn walkynge
Pur moy ouhter hors de dolour
2. And in an erber sote and grene . . . . .
That benchede was with clourys newe
A doun I sat me to bemene
For verray seyk ful pale of hewe
And say be syde aturtil trewe
For leue gan syngyn of hire fere
In frensch ho so the roundele knewe
Amour me fait souent pensere.

The following arrangement of these rhymes will shew their bearing. The French words are in Italics, the references to the number of the poem, as above, and the line, explanations in brackets:

A. debat *senbat* [s'en bat] iii 22, *debat* stat ii 7—*special* oueral ii 1—*allas* was ii 31—toward *gard* [garde] i 70

AI. *ay* [ai] day i 10, *serray* [serai] day ii 13, *say* [sais] may ii 10

E. *le* [*lé*, broad] me i 52, *le* the ii 28—*pete* [pité] me ii 40, *verite* the i. 23, *charite* be i 67, *volunte* the [thee] i 37, ii 46—*gre* [gré] fre [free] ii 4, *tresame* [très aimé] be i 55, *tresame* the

[thee] i 13, *done* [donné] the i 61, *en presone* [emprisonné] sle [slay, as often in Chaucer] i 34—fere [companion] *penseere* [penser] iii 14, *manere* were ii 34, *chere* pere [peer] i 43, *et pur ceo Ieo vous creser* [?] daunger i 28,—*leal* [loyal] fel [feel] i 16, *beele* [belle] heele [health] i 7.

EI. weye *soye* [sois] iii 46, *espeye* [épée, should be *espie*, the *e* was a subsequent insertion] deye [should be *dye* as often in Chaucer, p. 284] i 22

EU. rewe *adewe* iii 94, crew *deceu* iii 54

I. *vye* [vie] curteysye ii 49, *pry* [prie] curteysy [should be *curteysye* as in the last case] i 64, ermony [should be *harmonye*] *oublye* iii 30, *maladye* sikyrlye [should be *sikyrly*, but then the rhyme is faulty in a northern or late xv th century manner] ii 16, *ieo vous pry* [for *prye*] stedefastly [another faulty northern or xv th century rhyme] ii 52—fere [=fyr = fire for this rhyme, see p. 272] *aymyer* iii 38, *quoer* [cœur] fyr [evidently taken as (keer, feer), see last case] i 40, entyre *departer* [compare the last case but one] iii 118—*dyȝ* [dis] pris i 31—*tryst* [triste] nyȝt [night, see remarks below] i 19.

O. *a cestys ay maunde de vous ore* [or?] more ii 43, *note* rote i 46, sort *mort* iii 62.

OU. verteuous *ioyous* [joyeux] iii 86, *amour* flour ii 22, *amour* honour i 4, socour *dolour* [douleur] iii 6.

NASALS.—penaunce *languissaunce* iii 70—*dolent* schent ii 19, *entendement* entent i 58, *greuousement* schent ii 37—*seyn* [sain] serteyn i 49—*mounde* [monde] founde i 1.

So far as these rhymes establish anything they go to confirm our former conclusions in every respect, and to shew an absence of nasality in the English pronunciation of French in the xv th century, as we shall find again in the xvi th, Chap. VIII, § 3. The rhyme: *tryst* nyȝt, is very remarkable. It cannot be supposed either that ȝ was in such a position as *nyȝt* ever pronounced as *s*, although we find *dyȝ* = *dis* i 31 in the French; nor on the other hand can we suppose that *s* was omitted in *tryst* and ȝ in *nyȝt*, producing the rhyme: (triit, niit,) because *s* is still pronounced in this French word. Hence we are compelled to assume an assonance (trist, nikht), which a clumsy poet found quite near enough to satisfy his ear. Mr. Lumby however entertains a different opinion. In his edition of King Horn, infrà p. 480, n. 1, from this same Cambridge MS. Gg. 4, 27, 2, he observes on the forms, mifte = miȝte 10, dofter = doȝter 249, rhyming with þoȝte, and rift = riȝt in line 663 of *Floriȝ* in the same MS., which line also contains noȝt, with ȝ and not f: "This interchange," he says, "occurs so often in early MSS. that it is a conclusive proof of a similarity in sound between the letters," and adds that "in several copies of Piers Plowman *soure* occurs for *ȝoure*,"[1] and refers to Rel. Ant. i, 48, for a poem where this substitution occurs throughout. This poem, The Five Joys of the Virgin, is from Trin. Coll. MS. B 14, 39,[2] which Mr. T. Wright

[1] Mr. Skeat knows only of one copy, MS. Cotton Vesp. B. xvi, where there are several, but not many, examples, and the spelling is altogether singular.

[2] Some account of this MS. is given in Mr. Albert Way's Preface to the Promptorium Parvulorum, p. lxxii, under the heading "Femina." This MS., I am informed by Mr. Aldis Wright, the librarian of Trinity College, disappeared from that library between 1853 and 1859, and as no one had taken it out on bond in that interval, it must have been appropriated. There are notices of it in Hickes, Thesaurus i, 144, 154, and its disappearance is a serious loss to Early English philology. The poem of the Five Joys is reprinted in Golbeck and Mätzner's Sprachproben p. 51, but these editors have taken the liberty of replacing -ft by -ht throughout.

assigns to the first half of the XIII th century, a conclusion at variance with the orthography *thou* which is invariable and occurs frequently, and *wid-oute*. The only other test word is *ure*, which has the XIII th century form, so that the close of the XIII th century is the time indicated, as for Havelok. The words containing ſ for ȝ in this poem are: briſt miſt, liſte riſte, miſte, driſt riſt, miſte briſte, briſt. This same poem contains some other curious orthographies as: suc [such], scal, sculde, scene. It omits the guttural altogether in: broutest [broughtest], slo [slew]. It apparently confuses *v* with þ in

The thridde dai he ros to live;
Levedi, ofte were thou blive [bliþe?] [1]
  Ac never so thou were tho.
Levedi, for then ilke sive [siþe?]
That tou were of thi sone blive [bliþe?]
  Al mi sunnes thou do me fro!

In the last stanza we have: beue newe, printed, meaning apparently: bene newe, which would be an assonance, and is the reading adopted by Mätzner.

Levedi, tuet thou me mi bene
For the joie that ever is newe,
  Thou let me never be furlorn.

These peculiarities render this text not particularly useful for our purpose, and inasmuch as ȝ was used for both ȝ and ȝ, some inaccurate scribes may have considered that ſ, which was also certainly (z) at times, might be used for ȝ. The only passage I have yet met in which ȝ standing for ȝ has apparently the sound (s), is this very suspicious couplet of a poem full of bad spelling (i 19, suprà p.463):

Jeo suy pour toy dolant et tryst
Ther me peynyst bothe day and nyȝt
  Amore,

and it would be unwise to found a theory upon a single instance of such small authority. In the first passage of King Horn, the parallel MSS. in Mr. Lumby's preface, p. vi, give myhte, micte; and miȝte occurs two line above in his own text.

These rhymes of Norman and English are rather to be treated as jokes than as serious attempts to determine the Norman pronunciation. They may be classed with Hood's description of an Englishman's difficulties in France:

Chaises stand for chairs,
They christen letters *Billies*,
They call their mothers *mares*,
And all their daughters *fillies*;
Strange it was to hear,
I'll tell you what's a good 'un,
They call their leather *queer*,
And half their shoes are wooden.

For wine I reel'd about
To show my meaning fully,
And made a pair of horns
To ask for "beef and *bully*."
Then their cash was strange,
It bored me every minute.
How here's a *hog* to change,
How many *sows* are in it!

Comic Annual, 1831, p. 82.

[1] *Blive* means *quickly*, which will not make sense here. The rhyme here then sinks into an assonance, which even more resembles a rhyme than: liue biliue stighe (Prisoner's Prayer 27), because (f, th) and therefore (v, dh) are more readily confounded than (v, gh); we may suppose *bliþe* to have

Moore's Fudge Family in Paris, shews: joy *Roi*, *St. Denis* penny, swear is *Véry's*, throat *papillote*, fond *Fronde*, cracker *fiacre*, Natties *pâtés*, *affiches* wish, *Russes* use, *mon Prince* sense, *jolie* Dolly, *écrevisses* bliss, coach *poche*. In Byron we find: true is *petits puits* (Juan, 15, 68) *éprouveuse* muse (ib. 9, 84), *Vauban* hang slang (ib. 5, 11), *à l'Allemande* understand hand (ib. 15, 66), French *Pervenche* 14, 75. These modern instances should teach us not to ride our old examples too hard, and certainly not to draw conclusions from a few cases.

4. The Story of Genesis and Exodus, circà A.D. 1290.

Mr. Richard Morris attributes the composition of the rhymed account of Genesis and Exodus contained in a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to about A.D. 1250, but the actual writing of the MS. to nearly as late as 1300,[1] so that it was "the work of a scribe to whom the language was more or less archaic." The dialect he considers, together with that of the Bestiary (suprà, p. 439), and the Orrmulum (infrà, p. 486) to be East Midland. This poem being well known to all the members of the Early English Text Society, I have examined the rhymes to obtain indications of the pronunciation, and shall refer to them by the number of the lines in which they occur.

Assonances are not uncommon, but the principal are those in which *an*, corresponds to *am*, as: ȝan nam 481, nam canahan 725, abram leman 781, abram iurdan 805, abram man 909, bigan abram 921, abraham ȝan 1189, nam laban 1653. Occasionally *in im*, caym kin 543, elim sin 3307; *on om*, on-on hom 2199; *un um*, cumen munen 1621. Probably: gate quake 1054 is an error of the scribe for: gate quate. Joseph swep 2085, hond wrong 2063, sokoth pharaofh 3209, are single cases, but *oc* occurs more frequently: fot oc 2497, oc mod 3923, moȝ boc 3603. Altogether false rhymes are rare, and are probably scribal errors: agen undergon 1159, drog nuge 1327, get bigat 2277, ȝqr ger 2417, specande lockende 2821, moysen man 3109, eliazar or 4091. In: numen comen 343, broken luken 361, 3779, this is almost certainly the case, and in: swem greim 391, which would otherwise be an example of *e*, *ei* rhyming, the second word should be *grem* or *grim*. The rhyme *i*, *e*, is normal, as in Chaucer, (suprà p. 272): liȝer neȝer 369, effraym hem 2151, wliten eten 2289, abiden deden 2483, mide dede 2963, and probably implies that i = (*ii*, *i*). Oc-

been called, (bliidh·e), at present both (bleidh, bleith) are heard. Mätzner reads *blithe*, *sithe*, saying: "Wir schreiben hier *blithe* für *blive*, und *sithe* für *sive*; da sonst die Stelle unerklärbar bleibt. Dadurch tritt in *live* die Assonanz an die Stelle des Reims. Dass *blive* = *bilife*, *beliue*, quickly, nicht geduldet werden kann, ist selbstverständlich."

[1] The story of Genesis and Exodus, an Early English Song, about 1250, now first edited [for the Early English Text Society] from a unique MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Richard Morris, London, 8vo. pp. xl. 224; A.D. 1865.

casionally an *e* final seems omitted, or added by mistake, as: song amonge 699, child milde 985, compare: childe mild 1305. In many instances *-e*, and *-en* rhyme, where the editor has apparently changed *-e* into *en*, though in some cases it would seem more correct to change *-en* into *-e*.

As regards *u*, it had certainly generally the pronunciation (uu), and those rare cases in which it is replaced by *ou*, may be attributed to the more modern habits of the scribe, as the use of *ou* for (uu) seems to have commenced about the close of the XIII th century. Thus we find: run = *speech*, circumcicioun 991, town dun = *down* 2739, but: tun dun 713, teremuth = *Pharaoh's daughter's name*, out 2615. But the Hebrew: man hu? nu 3329, alluding to Ex. xvi, 15 (m*a*n HUU?), what is this?, the question asked when the manna was first seen, as clearly points to the use of *u* for (uu) as the *cuccu* of the Cuckoo Song. The use of *u* for (yy, y), probably called (*ii*, *i*, e) is rare, but we find *untuderi* = barren, 964.

That the unaccented syllables were occasionally pronounced in a slovenly manner, we collect from the rhyme: euenehe uone 331.

Diphthongal combinations are altogether rare.

Ea occurs, but rhymes with *e*, and may be always a scribal error: forbead dead 311, opened dead 387, red dead 401, bead dead 1059, ear ȝear = *dear*? 1089, forked dead 1329, dead red 2513. Probably pronounced (ee') or (ee, e) in all cases.

Oa rhymes always with *a*, and may have been (*aa*): moal = *speech* natural 81, woa = *woe* eua = *Eve* 237, gomorra ȝoa = ȝa 839, oba woa = *woe* 879, salmona ȝoa 3893, fasga doa = ȝa 4129.

Ai, *ei* rhyme together, and must have both been (ai): ay day 87, wei dai 1429, grei awei 1723, dai awei 2305, day wey 2721, dai mai 2747. In: awei deai 861, the last word is a mere scribal error for *dai*.

The guttural *g* is occasionally omitted, as: ru esau 1539, where *ru* = rough. Sometimes it is merely changed into *w*, probably indicating (wh) or (*gw*h): noght sowt 2869. We also find initial *gh*, in ghe = she, 237, 337, 339, but ge = *she* 1024 possibly a remnant of (*g*h), though (J) seems to have been the sound intended.

This examination confirms our previous conclusions as to the pronunciation of the XIII th century.

The following is an attempt to convey a notion of how the poem may have been read. The text is according to the MS., the pronunciation introduces some conjectural emendations, without which it would have been impossible to read the text.[1]

[1] In one or two points I differ from Mr. Morris, particularly in the last line but four, where he takes *buten hunte* = "without search, or hunting, without delay," but by restoring *ic* in the preceding line, wanted for the metre and the sense, and taking *ȝor buten* to mean *there about* as in: ȝor buten noe long fwing he dreg 566, .vii. moneȝ ȝor-buten he ben 3625, *hunte* becomes the infinite mood, and the construction is *ic sal hunte ȝor-buten*, I shall hunt there about, I shall endeavour to accomplish it.

Genesis and Exodus, 269-318.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Wiſdom ȝe made ilc ȝing of nogt,	Wiis·doom dhe maad ilk thiq of nokht,
Q*u*uat-ſo-eu*er*e on heuone or her iſ wrogt.	K*w*hat-s-eer· on HEVN- or HEER is r*w*okht.
Ligber he ſridde a dere ſrud,	Likhtbeer· HE srid an deer·e sruud,
And he wurȝe in him-ſeluen prud,	And HE wurth in HIMSEL·VEN pruud,
An wiȝ ȝat p*ri*de him wex a nyȝ,	And with dhat priid -im weks a niidh
ȝat iwel weldeȝ al his ſiȝ;	Dhat ii·vel weldeth al -is siidh,
ȝo ne migte he non lou*er*d ȝhauen,	Dhoo nee mikht -ee noon lov·erd thaa·ven
ȝat him ſulde ȝhinge grauen:	Dhat HIM suld [al·e] thiq·e thraa·ven:
Min fligt, he seide, ic wile up-taken	Miin flikht, HE said, ic wil up taa·ken,
Min ſete norȝ on heuene maken,	Miin see·te north on HEV·NE maa·ken,
And ȝor ic wile ſitten and ſen	And dhoor ic wiil·e sit·n- and seen.
Al ȝe ȝhinges ȝe in werde ben,	Al dhe thiq·es dhee -n werld·e been,
Twen heuone hil and helle dik,	Tween HEV·NE HIL and HEL·E diik,
And ben min lou*er*d geuelic.	And been miin lov·erd gee·veliik,
ȝo wurȝ he drake ȝat ear was knigt,	Dhoo wurdh -e draak·e dhat eer was knikht,
ȝo wurȝ he mirc ȝat ear was ligt,	Dhoo wurdh -e mirk dhat eer was likht,
And eu*er*ilc on ȝat helden wid him,	And ev·erilk oon dhat held·en with HIM
ȝo wurden mirc, and ſwart, and dim,	Dhoo wurdh·en mirk and swart and dim,
And fellen ut of heuones ligt,	And fel·en uut of HEV·NES likht,
In to ȝis middil walknes nigt;	Intoo· dhis mid·il walk·nes nikht;

Translation.

Wisdom then made each thing of nought,
Whatsoever in heaven or here is wrought.
Light-bear [Lucifer] he [God] clothed in precious clothing,
And he became in himself proud,
And with that pride in-him waxed an envy
That ill ruleth all his path.
Then not might he no lord endure,
That for-him should [all] things control.
My flight, he said, I will up-take,
My seat north in heaven make,
And there I will sit and see,
All the things that in the world be,
Between heaven's hil and hell's ditch,
And be to-my lord even-like.
Then became he dragon that ere was knight,
Then became he mirky that ere was light,
And every one that held with him
Then became mirky, and black, and dim,
And fell out of heaven's light,
In to this middle welkin's night,

Genesis and Exodus.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
And get ne kuȝe he nogt blinne	And ɟet ne kuudh·e нee nokht blin·e
for to don an oȝer ſinne.	for to doon an oodh·er sin·e.
Eſten he sag in paradiſ	Eest·en нe saagh in paa·radiis
Adam and eue *in* mike p*riſ*,	Aa·dam and Eev in mik·e priis,
Newelike he was of erȝe wrogt,	Neu-liik· -e was of erth·e r*w*okht,
And to ȝat mirie bliſſe brogt;	And too dhat mir·ie blis·e brokht,
ȝowgte ȝis q*u*ead, hu ma it ben,	Thoukht·e dhis k*w*eed, нuu mai it been,
Adam ben king and eue q*u*uen	Aa·dam been kiq and Ee·ve k*w*een,
Of alle ȝe ȝinge i*n* werlde ben.	Of al·e thiq·e dhee -n werld·e been,
Hu mai it hauen, hu mai it ſen,	Huu mai ic нaan, нuu mai ic seen.
Of fiſ, of fugel, of wrim, of der,	Of fis, of fuugh·el, of wirm, of deer,
Of alle ȝhinge ȝe wunen her,	Of al·e thiq·e dhee wuun·en нeer,
Eu*er*ilc ȝhing haued he geue name,	Eer·ilk· thiq нavd -e geev·e naa·me,
Me to ſorge, ſcaȝe, and ſame;	Mee to sorgh·e, scaadh and saa·me.
for ada*m* ful ȝus, and his wif,	For Aa·dam sal dhus, and нis wiif
In bliſſe ȝus leden leſteful lif;	In blis·e leed·en les·teful liif;
for alle ȝo, ȝe of hem ſule cumen,	For alle dhee -f нem sul·e kuu·-men
ſulen ermor i*n* bliſſe wunen,	Sul·en eermoor· in blis·e wuu·-nen,
And we ȝe ben fro heuene driuen,	And wee dhe been froo нev·ne drii·ven,
ſulen ȝuſſe one in ſorwe liuen;	Sul·en dhus oon in sorgh·e lii·ven,
Get ic wene I can a red,	Jet ik ween i kan a reed
ȝat hem ſal bringen iwel ſped;	Dhat нem sal briq·en ii·vel speed.

Translation.

And yet not could he not cease
For to do another sin.
Eastwards he saw in paradise,
Adam and Eve in much honour,
Newly he was of earth wrought,
And to that merry bliss brought.
Thought this evil-one, how may it be,
Adam be king and Eve queen
Of all things that in world be.
How may I have, how may I see!
Of fish, of fowl, of worm, of beast,
Of all things that dwell here,
To-every thing has he given name,
For my sorrow, scathe and shame.
For Adam shall thus and his wife
In bliss lead lasting-full life.
For all who of them shall come
Shall evermore in bliss dwell,
And we that be from heaven driven,
Shall thus only in sorrow live.
Yet I ween I know a plan
That them shall bring evil speed.

Genesis and Exodus.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
for gef he don ðad god for-bead,	For ɟef ʜe doon dhat God for·-beed
ðat ſal hem bringen to ðo dead,	Dhat sal ʜem briq·en too dho deedh,
And ſal get ðis ilke dai,	And [ic] sal ɟet dhis ilk·e dai
ðor buten hunte if ic mai;	Dhoor buut·en ʜunt·e ɟif ik mai·
Ic wene ðat ic, and eue hiſe wif,	Ik ween·e dhat ik and Eev -is wiif
ſulen adam bilirten of hiſe lif.	Sul·en Aa·dam biliir·ten of ʜis liif,
Ic wene ðat ic and eue	Ic ween·e [to sooth] dhat ik and Ee·ve
ſulen alle is bliſſe dreue.	Sul·en [Aa·dam] al -is blis·e dree·ve.

Translation.

For if they do that-which God forbade,	I ween that I, and Eve his wife,
That shall bring them to the death.	Shall Adam betrick of his life,
And [I] shall yet this same day	I ween [in sooth] that I and Eve
There about hunt, if I may.	Shall [for-Adam] all his bliss trouble.

5. HAVELOK THE DANE, CIRCÀ A.D. 1290.

Sir Frederick Madden in his edition of this poem[1] considers its author to have been a Lincolnshire man, and the time of composition between A.D. 1270 and 1290. As the romance was popular, there may have been many copies, and the manuscript followed by Sir F. Madden may not have been original. In its orthography, apart from its dialectic peculiarities, (which are numerous but do not here come into consideration, as the object is merely to determine the value of the letters,) it shews a transition from the customs of the XIII th to those of the XIV th century, much more marked than in Genesis and Exodus. Thus *ou* is frequently used for (uu), *þou* being the common form, though *þu* is by no means unfrequent, indeed both forms occur in the same line: Grim, *þou* wost *þu* art mi thral 527, and we have *þw* 1316, and *þo* 388, where, probably, a final u has been accidentally omitted by the scribe. The following

[1] The Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane, accompanied by the French Text, with an Introduction and Glossary by Frederick Madden, Esq., F.A.S., F.R.S.L., subkeeper of the manuscripts in the British Museum, printed for the Roxburgh Club, 1828, 4to. This edition being very scarce, a new one compared afresh with the MS. has been prepared for the Early English Text Society under the title: The Lay of Havelock the Dane: composed in the reign of Edward I., about A.D. 1280, formerly edited by Sir F. Madden for the Roxburghe Club, and now re-edited from the unique MS. Laud Misc. 108, in the Bodleian Library, Cxford, by Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A., London, 1869. It will therefore be assumed to be accessible to all members of that Society, and will be cited by the number of the verses, as usual. The citations originally made from Sir F. Madden's edition have been verified by Mr. Skeat's. I am much indebted to Mr. Skeat for many hints, and for kindly allowing me to make use of his proof sheets before publication, so as to enable me to insert this notice in its proper place.

rhymes serve to shew the identity of the two spellings: yow now 160, prisoun laȝarun 330, mouth suth 433, yw = *you* nou 453, nov = *now* you 484, bou*n*de*n* wnden = *wounden* 546, unbou*n*den fu*n*den 602, hw = *how* he was mike, hw he was strong 960, doun tun = *town* 1630, wounde grunde 1978, bowr tour 2072, dune croune 2656. Of course *ou*, *ow* also occur as (oou) corresponding to ags. aw, oh, and the guttural is generally lost in (w) after *o*, thus: ynowe slowe 2682. In: croud god 2338, we should probably read *crod*, as the proper form of the past participle.[1] The frequent occurrence of *ou*, however, would lead one to suppose that the actual MS. must belong to the very end of the XIII th, if not to the beginning of the XIV th century.[2]

Assonances are frequent, and the more marked that there is often no relation between the consonants which follow the identical vowels. Thus: rym fin 21, yeme quene 182, harde crakede 567, beþe rede 694, knaue plawe 949, stareden[3] ladde*n* 1037,

[1] Ags. creódan (creád, crudon, croden) Ettmüller, Lex. Anglos. p. 400. Nall (suprà p. 166, note 1) under *Crowd-Barrow*, quotes: "She sent my mother word by Kate, that she should come hither when God sent time, though she should be *crod* in a barrow. *Letter of Margery Paston*, A.D. 1477."

[2] Mr. Skeat informs me that: "No other MS. of Havelok has ever been heard of, or known to exist: though of course there may have been several. If this is not the original, it is at any rate a very early copy. I do not think Sir F. Madden, or any other judge of writing, would admit it to be later than about 1280, the probable date of the composition. The evident age of the MS. is one evidence of its early composition." The MS. containing Havelok begins with lives of Saints, and Havelok was overlooked for years, because it does not begin till fo. 204. It ends on fo. 219*b*, and is immediately followed by Kyng Horn in the same column. This has all the appearance of a copy, not an original MS., and as we have two other copies of King Horn (p. 480, n. 1), we may some day find another of Havelok. Even a much later one (as in the case of Laȝamon) would be of great service. It is of course impossible to date a MS. by the writing only, within 30 years, the working life-time of a single scribe. The orthography would lead me to place the actual manuscript after the copying of Genesis and Exodus, and within the variable period, say 1280 to 1310. Probably after the last date *ou* was universally employed for (uu). If the reader will turn to: Seinte Marherete, the Meiden ant Martyr, in old English, first edited from the skin books in 1862 by Oswald Cockayne, M.A., and now reissued for the Early English Text Society, 1866, and compare the three versions there given, the first from the MS. Reg. 17, A. xxvii., apparently written in 1230, in which no case of *ou* = (uu) occurs; the second from MS. Harl. 2277, attributed to 1330, in which *ou* is always used for (uu); and the third from the lost Cam. MS. (suprà p. 464, n. 1) as printed by Hickes, in which, if the text is to be trusted, there is just a trace of *u* = (uu) —þu 22, prisun 26, etc., dragun 44, ut 28, 56, þoru 47—amidst a great preponderance of *ou*, the value of this sign of age in a MS. will become more apparent; compare also suprà, pp. 408, 423, 439, 445, 467, and p. 481, l. 11.

[3] "Probably miswritten for *stradden* contended." Skeat, Glossary. Sir F. Madden, and Garnett are of the same opinion. It is with great diffidence that I presume to doubt this correction. *Stradden* would introduce a Norse word, whereas the noun *strout* is used immediately 1039, and verb *stroute* in 1779, from ags. *strudan*, *strutian*, and it does not seem likely that both words should coexist in the same dialect, or, if they did, should be used in immediate proximity. Nor, I must confess, does *contended* seem to make very good sense. The passage relates to the game of "putting the stone," the point being to see who should throw an enormous stone furthest, for he whose stone was

shop (?) hok 1101, odrat bad 1153, drawe haue 1297, fet ek 1303, ioye trone 1315, maked yschaped 1646, riche chinche 1763, 2940, feld sword 1824, 2634,[1] seruede werewed 1914, wend gent 2138, shauwe knawe 2206, grauen namen 2528, thank rang 2560,[2] boþe[3] rede 2585, boþen drowen 2659, shawe knawe 2784.

Apart from these assonances there are no bad rhymes which do not admit of explanation. Thus: hey fri 1071, might possibly be: hy fri, see p. 285, but as the form *hy* does not occur in Havelock, we should probably read: hey sley, compare 1083.[4] The

even an inch before the others was to be held a champion:

Hwo so mithe putten þore
Biforn anoþer, an inch or more,
Wore ye [=he ?] yung, [or] wore he hold,
He was for a kempe told. 1033

What would then be more natural than for the champions and the lads to stand and look intently, *stare*, prior to the throw, and then make a great contention, *strout*, about the best cast. This is what the text says as it stands:

Al-so þe[i] stoden, an[d] ofte stareden
þe chaunpiouns, and ek the ladden,
And he maden mikel strout
Abouten þe alþerbeste but. 1037

It would, however, be rather curious to say that the champions and lads stood and *contended* and made a great *contention* about the best throw. If we must alter the passage, *straden*, strode about (Ettm. 746), would make decent sense, but not so good as *stareden*. It was doubtless the apparent harshness of the assonance: stareden ladden, which led to this conjecture. In the same way Mr. Morris, anxious to avoid the assonance: harde crakede 567, proposed to change

And caste þe knaue adoun so harde,
þat hise croune he þer crakede

into

And caste þe knaue so harde adoun,
þat he crakede þer hise croune.

(Skeat, p. 91). Where the rhyme requires *adoune* as in King Horn 1487 (Lumby's edn.)

Fikenhildes crune
þer ifulde adune . . .

which is quoted in Mr. Skeat's glossary (from MS Harl. 2253,) as: crowne adoune, shewing the more ancient form of the other version of King Horn. But the only alteration really required is: þer he crakede, for: he þer crakede, in order to preserve the *e* in *croune*. As to the assonance itself, it is harsh to our ears only. We must remember the constant habit of the metathesis of *r*, so that: harde crakede, may have been called: harde carkede, which would have been almost a rhyme, as: star'den ladden, also is. On the principle of not making unnecessary changes, I prefer accepting the reading of the MS. in each case as it stands, and therefore retain both: harde crakede, and stareden ladden, as assonances.

[1] And þe þredde so sore he slow,
þat he made up-on the feld
His left arm fleye, with the sword.

On which Mr. Skeat remarks: "Cf. l. 1825. We should otherwise be tempted to read *sheld*; especially as the shield is more appropriate to the *left* arm." This was Sir F. Madden's original suggestion. But *with* may denote the instrument: he slow þe þredde so sore with the sword, þat he made, etc. Compare the constructions, suprà p. 376, art. 110. Compare also the parallel passage:

For his sword he hof up heye,
And þe hand he dide of fleye,
That he smot him with so sore. 2750

I feel doubtful whether the other interpretation: that he made his left arm *together with* the sword, fall on the field, could be justified by parallel passages.

[2] This may be a rhyme, see suprà p. 192.

[3] As we find: rede beþe 694, beþe rede 1680, we should of course read: beþe rede in this place. This is only one of the numerous instances of the interchange of *e*, *a*, *o*, to be noticed presently. Thus we have: baþe 1336, 2543, and boþen 173, 697, 958.

[4] According to the text Godrich hears the knights talk of Havelok:

Hw he was strong man and hey,
Hw he was strong and ek fri, 1071,

and then he thought that King Athel-

rhyme: yhe se 1984, is a mere misprint in Sir F. Madden's edition, corrected by Mr. Skeat to: þhe se, where the *h* is an idle insertion, compare þe = *thigh* 1950, and: ȝhinge = ȝinge, Gen. and Ex. 300.

The passages which present the greatest difficulty are the following: eir tother 410, misdede leyde 994, deled wosseyled 1736. The last is explained by: wesseyle*n* todeyle 2098, which ought to shew that the writer had two ways of pronouncing: delen, deylen, (deel·en, dail·en). Compare:

So þat þe blod ran of his fleys,
Þat tendre was, and swiþe neys, 216
And woundede hi*m* rith i*n* þe flesh
Þat tendre was, and swiþe nesh. 2742

As the dialact of Havelok shews a Scandinavian character in many words, the form *deylen* may have arisen from that source, Icelandic *at deila*, (dee·la) to divide, and it would be in fact more difficult to acccount for the forms *fleys neys*.[1] If we do not accept

wald had made him swear to give his daughter to the "hexte" = highest, *tallest*, man alive, and then asks

Hwere mithe i finden ani so hey
So hauelok is, or so sley? 1083

It is evident that the two couplets ought to correspond. *Sley*, of course, means skilful, Havelocks skill: hw he warp þe ston Ouer þe laddes euerilkon 1061, having made him the common talk. *Fri* yields no good sense.

[1] For *fleys* see suprà pp. 265, 441, 445. The form is, in fact, not unusual. For *neys* there seems to be no authority, and cognate languages do not exhibit the diphthong (ei), as they do in the case of high German *fleisch*, *theil*, *weich* (flaish, tail, bhaikh), compare Dutch, *vleesch*, *deel*, *week* (vlees, deel, bheek). These undoubted correspondences of (e, ai) in high and low German, and the occasional use of *ei* in Icelandic as *deila*, *veikr* (deil·a, veikr), but its rejection in other cases, as *flesk* (flesk), may at least serve to render intelligible some doubtful usages in such a provincial region and early time as that which gives us the rhyme of Havelok. Not only does provincial, but even metropolitan usage at the present day, furnish examples which may give as much trouble to a future investigator. Compare the example Chap. XI. § 3, where it will be seen that Mr. Melville Bell writes: (deiz, weisted, fein, geiv, keim, sei), where I have (deez, weested, feen, geev, keem, see) = *days*, *wasted*, *fain*, *gave*, *came*, *say*, though we are both supposed to speak the same dialect. See also p. 450 n. 2, and p. 459, n. 1, and the forms *sede saide*, p. 446. . . . After the preceding observations had gone to press, I received a remarkable confirmation of the views there expressed concerning the possibility of different pronunciations coexisting in limited districts, from an account of the present pronunciation of English in the Peak of Derbyshire, orally communicated to me by a native of the district, Mr. Thomas Hallam, of Manchester. A somewhat detailed account of these remarkable pronunciations will be given below, Chap. XI. § 4, but it is as well to notice here, that on the west of the mountain ridge of the peak we find (mee, dee, uwee·, pee) and on the east (mii, dii, uwii, pii) for *may*, *day*, *away*, *pay*, and again on the west we have (shiip, sliip, mei) and on the east (sheip, sleip, mei) for *sheep*, *sleep*, *me*. This characteristic diphthong (ei), found also in the west of the ridge in (dzheist, dzheint, beil, peint, eint·-mynt) for *joist*, *joint*, *boil*, *point*, *ointment*, is, as pronounced to me by Mr. Hallam, a sound which one Southerner will hear as (*ee*) and another as (əi). Compare *poynte* = *peynte*, p. 447, l. 14. We can guess how a peasant of the Peak, with his partial inoculation into the mysteries of modern orthography is likely to write, but to put ourselves into the position of the most careful of ancient scribes, we have only to endeavour to appreciate such sounds and attempt to commit them to paper, after a careful study of phonetics. The extreme difficulty of appreciation, the readiness with which we mentally as-

the form *deyle*, then one of three things must be the case: 1) The rhyme may be faulty, but it would be perhaps the only faulty rhyme. Or, 2) the *ey*, *e* may be a true rhyme, but then, independently of previous investigations, the persistent avoidance of such rhymes is remarkable, and there would have been no reason to lug in, for example, *withuten faile* 179, 2909, as a rhyme to *cornwayle*, with scarcely a shadow of excuse from the sense. Or 3) the passages containing *deled*, *to deyle*, may be corrupt. For this there is some ground. The passages are:

> But hwan he haueden þe kiwing deled,
> And fele siþes haueden wosseyled. 1736
> Hweþer he sitten nou, and wesseylen,
> Or of ani shotshipe to-deyle. 2098

The first line contains at least one corrupt unintelligible word *kiwing*, and not only is the metre of the last line unusually defective, but the construction *to-deyle of* for *participate in*, seems forced and unsatisfactory. It would, however, be too hazardous, in the absence of parallel passages, to propose any emendation.

The second passage

> Neuere more he him misdede,
> Ne hond on him with yuele leyde. 994

cannot be so explained, as *dede* never appears as *deide*, and it would not be right to conclude that there was an assonance formed by calling *leyde* (leid·e) rather than (laid·e), in face of the older Laȝamon forms: læide, læiden, leide, laiden, leaide. There was no period of English pronunciation in which *misdede leyde* would have rhymed, so far as our researches extend. The passage must therefore be corrupt. In the first place the sense is bad: "never more he hurt him by deed, and never laid hand on him with evil intent," merely repeats in the second line what is said in the first. We

sociate the unusual with the usual sound, the hesitation which we feel in selecting one orthography in place of another, and the variety of pronunciations prevalent within a limited district, none of which can claim the pre-eminence — true picture of English habits of speech in the XIII th century —will make us more readily understand the varieties of orthography adopted by ancient scribes, and rather admire than depreciate the partial uniformity to which they attained. For myself I should feel no surprise to find one writer representing the "Derbyshire" sound of *sheep*, in "ordinary spelling" as *sheep*, another as *shape*, and a third as *shipe*. Should we then be surprised if we found an old monk proceeding from a similar district at one time writing *shep*, and at another *sheyp*? and should we conclude in the modern case that *ee*, *a*, *i*, had the same sound, or in the old case that *e*, *ey*, had the same meaning? At most, they would be different appreciations of the same sound, and might possibly indicate the co-existence of different sounds within the same district. And such coexistence is not confined to English dialects. The vulgar (een, keen,) coexists with the polite (ain, kain) = *ein*, *kein*, in Berlin, Saxony, and many parts of Germany. In the Dyak (Dai·ak) languages of Sarawak (Saraa·wak), (*ee*, ai) constantly interchange even in adjacent house-clusters, sometimes even in the same house-cluster, so that (bəsee·) or (bəsai·) would be equally intelligible for *great*. Generally in these languages (ii, *ee*, ai) interchange on the one hand, and (*oo*, uu, au) on the other, as I have just been informed (April, 1869) by an English resident of long standing in Sarawak. See also *neither*, suprà p. 129, n. 1.

want the sense, "he never more wronged him by *word*, or deed." This is supplied by reading *misseyde* for misdede, and of the correctness of this reading we can have no doubt after considering the parallel passages.

Ne found he non that him misseyde,
N[e] with iuele on[ne] hand leyde. 49
Roberd hire ledde, þat was red,
Þat hau[ed]e þarned for hire þe ded
Or ani hauede hire misseyd,
Or hand with iuele onne leyd. 1686
Me wore leuere i wore lame,
þanne men dide him ani shame,
Or tok, or onne handes leyde,
Vn-ornelſke [vn-ornelike ?], or same seyde. 1938

The first instance

Hauelok, þat was þe eir
Swanborow, his sister, Helfled, the tother. 410

is also corrupt on the face of it,[1] for the second line of the couplet is outrageously prolonged. The word *eyr* occurs not unfrequently at the end of a line, as 110, 288, 605, 1095 and always rhymes with *fair*. This suggests the reading

Hauelok, that was the eir,
Swanborow, Helfled her sister fair,[2]

which at least preserves metre and rhyme, and is immediately suggested by the parallel passage:

Of his bodi ne haude he eyr
Bute a mayden swiþe fayr. 110

The rhyme *i*, *e*, as: bidde stede 2548 is frequent. Shewed knawed 2057, must be considered in connection with: shewe lowe 1698, and lowe awe 1291, where *lowe*, ags. hlaw, means a hill, preserved in the Scotch *law;* as well as with the not unfrequent interchange of *e*, *o*, as: sore wore = *were* 236, wore = *were* more 1700, were sore 414, (where Mr. Skeat reads *wore*), more thore = *there* 921, cle[r]k yerk = *York* 1177, and also of *o*, *a*: longe gange 795, 2586, sawe wowe = *wall* 1962, 2142,

[1] "Corrupt? Lines 410, 411 do not rime well together." Skeat.

[2] We may even imagine how the extraordinary error in the MS. arose. Suppose, as usual, that the scribe was writing from dictation. The reader gives out: "Swanborow, Helfled her sister fair," the scribe writes "Swanborow, his sister;" altering *her* to *his* as a matter of course, because only a masculine noun had preceded; the reader sees the error and exclaims, "Thou hast forgotten Helfled thet other;" the scribe immediately claps down the words "Helfled the tother," and is quite satisfied he has correctly followed the reader in the monstrosity: "Swanborow his sister, Helfled the tother!" *Se non e vero, è ben trovato.* I had at first proposed: Swanborow, Helfled his sisters fair, in order to preserve as much of the original as possible, but the examples: hise children yunge 368, we aren boþe þine 619, kniues longe 1769, hundes teyte 1841, wundes swiþe grete 1898, monekes blake 2520, shew that: his sisters faire, would have been required and this would have militated against the rhyme. Unless, indeed, the author could have dispensed with this final *e* if the necessity of rhyme lay on him, as he does dispense apparently with an *e*, which is at once plural and dative, in:

Hwan he hauede manrede and oth
Taken of lef and of loth. 2312

where however perhaps: othe, lefe, lothe, should be read.

thare = thore = *there* more 2486, open drepen = *kill* 1782. We have then to admit that the pronunciation of the writer varied in the same word at different times, and that he allowed himself to interchange *e*, *a*, *o*. The same interchange of (*ee*, *oo*) is observable in the modern Scotch and English: *aik* oak, *aits* oats, *aith* oath, *caip* cope, *claith* cloth, *craik* croak, *daigh* dough, *dail* dole, *gaist* ghost, *gait* goat, *grain* groan, *graip* grope, *hail* whole, *haim* home, *kaim* comb, *laid* load, *laird* lord, *laith* loath, *main* moan, *mair* more, *maist* most, *raid* road, *raip* rope, *saip* soap, *sair* sore, *spaik* spoke of a wheel, *taid* toad. In Aberdeen we even find (stiin, biin) for *stone*, *bone*. But it will be seen on examining other Scotch *ai* = (*ee*) forms, that they often derive from an ags. *a*, *e*. Herein then we seem to have an indication of the key to this dialectic peculiarity. The original (aa) was at one time broadened into (oo), and at another squeezed into (ee), and the habits of the speaker became so uncertain that all three forms in (ee, aa, oo) were in sufficiently common use to allow a rhymester to employ whichever was most convenient, till at last (oo, ee) interchanged without the intervention of an original (aa).

We find the regular interchange of *ai*, *ei*, as: at hayse = *at ease* preyse 59, deye preye 168, seyl nayl 711, ay domesday 747. There seems to be even a probability of *seint* having been occasionally dissyllabic, as suprà p. 264. Thus, comparing *ion* 177:

In al denemark is wimman [non]	=	(In al Denmark· is wum·an noon,
So fayr so sche, bi seint iohan. 1719		Soo fair so shee, bi saa·int Dzhon.
But gaf hem leue sone anon		But gaa· -em lee·ve soon anoon·.
And bitauhte hem seint Iohan. 2956		And bitaut· -em saa·int Dzhon).

We have also occasionally the (*i*) value of *u*. In two instances this value is apparently given to *u* in words which were undoubtedly generally pronounced with (*u*), as:

So þat þei nouth ne blinne
Til þat to sette bigan þe sunne. 2670
Þer was swilk dreping of þe folk
Þat on þe feld was neu*e*re a polk
Þat it ne stod of blod so ful,
Þat þe strem ran *i*ntil þe hul. 2684

In the first case read *so þat þei* [*stunte*] *nouth ne blunne*, the ags. forms, *stunte*, *blunne*, making metre, rhyme, and construction, perfect. In the second, *hul*, which was supposed by Sir F. Madden to mean *hill*, is perhaps a provincial pronunciation of the ags. and old norse *hol*, Swedish *hol*, Danish *hul*, a hollow for the valley, as the battle was fought at Tetford, near Horncastle. But the line is possibly corrupt, and there is no obvious means of correction from the want of parallel passages.[1]

[1] As it stands the passage must be translated: "There was such slaying of the people, That on the field there was never a puddle, That it stood not so full of blood, That the stream ran into the hollow(?)." Mr. Murray, who suggested the insertion of *stunte* above, inclines to *hul* hollow, on account of the Scotch use of *howe* (HOOU, HAU), a direct descendant of a previous (H*u*l), as opposed to *knoll*, for a small valley or depression. Part of a village in Teviotdale is called Huole-o-the-Burn (H*u*'l, H*u*ˌol, H*ú*əl, H*ú*əl).

The other rhymes do not require particular notice. The value of the *letters* is clearly that established for the XIII th century, by previous research, with, in the case of *ou*, an anticipation of the usages of the XIV th. The metre is rugged and the spelling irregular, so that the use of the final *-e* cannot accurately be determined. But there is no reason to suppose it different from what had been found for others.

The orthography of the guttural in connection with *t* is very remarkable, as: knict 239, knicth 77, knith 1068, kniht 2706, brouth 336, brihte rithe 2610, bitawte authe 1409, etc., implying a peculiarity of pronunciation, which, in the absence of parallel usage, and determining rhymes, cannot be appreciated with certainty. We must not forget, however, that *sigh*, *drought*, *height*, were sometimes called (səith, drʌʌth, həith) in the XVII th century (p. 212), and that *Keighley* in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and therefore likely to be somewhat inclined to the same pronunciation as the writer of Havelok, is now called (Kiith·l*i*), and the pronunciation (hekth) for *height*, has been noted near Ledbury in Herefordshire, which greatly resembles *-cth* in *knicth*. At first sight *-th* looks like a metathesis of *ht*, just as we find *ihc* 1377 for *ich*, and this in connection with the actual occasional occurrence of *-ht* or even *-ct*, *-cth*, would lead directly to the usual (-kht) pronunciation. But an examination of the orthography in the poem shews a systematic avoidance of the guttural except in relation to *t*. In all other cases it is expressed only by *y i*, *w u*, as: eie, fleye, heie, leye = *mentire*, seyen, sleie; awe = *possess*, dawes = *days*, drawen drou, fawen = *fain*, flow, galwe, mowe, slou, þou = *though*. Even with *t* the sign of the guttural is frequently omitted, as: aute laute 743, but: awcte 207, lauthe 1673. It seems then very possible that these *-ct*, *-cth*, *-th*, *-t*, only mean *t*, with a merely orthographical indication of the guttural. This pronunciation of final *-cht* is not unknown in German.[1] The otiose *h* after initial *t*, and even elsewhere (suprà p. 473, l. 8), found occasionally in various manuscripts, but never systematically carried out, is not to be compared with this use of *h* in connection with final *t*, where in most other MSS. the guttural is inserted as *h*, *g*, ȝ.[2] We must also recollect that in MSS., as we have had occasion to see also in the Prisoner's Prayer and elsewhere, the letter *h* is used very loosely, even when initial. In Havelok it is unnecessarily prefixed in: holde 30, hete 146, het 653, but: et 656, heuere 17, her 229, hof 1976, helde 128, etc., etc., and we find it omitted in: aueden 163, osed 971, etc., but with no

[1] "*Ch* lautet gar nicht vor *t* Ober-Rhein und Donau Gebiet, Land und Stadt, (-it, -ət) Endsylbe *-icht*, (-let, -lət) Endsylbe *-licht*, (nit net) nicht, ostlech. Rab, Land, (fait·n) Feuchten, Fichte, (Furt) Furcht, (knet) Knecht, (liət) Liecht, (N*a*t) Nacht, (rɛət) recht, (shlɛət fed·eln) schlecht fechteln, (br*a*t) gebracht." Schmeller, Mundarten Bayerns, art. 432.

[2] The French *thé*, German *Thee* has (t) or if it is more dental (.t) on the continent more than with us, this applies to every *t* and not merely to those written *th*. In one dialect of the Peak of Derbyshire (.t) is heard only, but always, before *r* and *-er*.

sort of uniformity. Hence the temptation to use it as an idle letter, or an orthographical expedient.

That long *i* was (ii) or (*ii*) appears among other passages from

> Als she shulde hise clothes handel
> On forto don, and blawe þer[1] fir (= *fire*)
> She saw therinne a lith (= *light*) ful shir (= *sheer*). 586
> Al so brith, al so shir,
> So it were a blase of fir. 1253

The word *sheer*, Gothic *skeirs* (skiirs) bright, clear, old Saxon *skiri*, middle high German and new low German *schir*, new high German *schier* (shiir), old high German *scieri* (skii'ri ?), ags. *scir* old norse *skir* (skiir), Orrmin *shir*, is a word which from the earliest times and in almost all dialects, and specially in English, has retained the sound of (-iir), and hence is an excellent rhyme to determine the old sound of *fir*.

The reader will find many points of orthography and pronunciation touched on with great care in Mr. Skeat's edition §§ 27 and 28, and a full consideration of the treatment of final *e* in § 29.[2]

It is with great diffidence that I annex an example of this difficult provincial poem. The text is given exactly, in the pronunciation I have ventured on a few alterations, intended to be corrections.

Havelok 2312-2345.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Hwan he hauede manrede and oth	Whan HE HAV·de manreed· and oodh·e,
Taken of lef and of loth,	Taak·en of leev and [ook] of loodh·e
Vbbe dubbede him to knith,	Ub·e dub·ed HIM to kniit,
With a swerd ful swiþe brith,	With a swerd ful swidh·e briit,
And þe folk of al þe lond	And dhe folk of al dhe lond
Bitauhte him al in his hond,	Bitaut· -im al in [too·] HIS hond
Þe cunnriche eu*er*il del,	Dhe kin·eriitsh·e ev·ril deel,
And made him king heylike and wel.	And maad -im kiq HAI·liik and weel.
Hwan he was king, þer mouthe me*n* se	Whan HEE was kiq, dher mout·e men see
Þe moste ioie þat mouhte be:	Dhe most·e dzhoi·e dhat mout·e bee:

Translation.

When he had homage and oaths
Taken of dear and [eke] of loath (ones),
Ubbe dubbed him (to) knight,
With a sword ful very bright,
And the folk of all the land
Committed to-him al in[to] his hand
The kingdom every part,
And made him king, highlike and wel.
When he was king, there might one see
The most joy that might be;

[1] Mr. Skeat reads *þe*.

[2] Mr. Skeat having requested me to read and comment on some of these points, I endeavoured to do so, in great haste, at a time when accidental circumstances disabled me from given them proper attention. In those cases where the present statements differ from those hasty expressions of mine which Mr. Skeat, anxious not to smother opinions opposed to his own, has politely printed, they must be considered as corrections, resulting from careful re-examination. I regret not having been able to examine all the cases of final *e*, to determine the circumstances of its elision and suppression, but I believe that it was not otherwise treated than in the Cuckoo Song and Prisoner's Prayer.

Buttinge with sharpe sp*er*es,	But·iq· [dher was] with sharp·e speer·es,
Skirming with taleuaces, þat men beres,	Skirm·iq· with tal·vases, dhat men beer·es,
Wrastling with laddes, putt*in*g of ston,	R*w*ast·liq· with ladz, put·iq· of stoon,
Harping and piping, ful god won,	Harp·iq· and piip·iq·, ful good woon,
Leyk of mine, of hasard ok,	Laik of Miin, of Has·ard ook,
Romanz reding on þe bok;	Room·ans· reed·iq· on dhe book;
Þer mouthe men here þe gestes singe,	Dher mout·e men нee·re dhe dzhest·es siq·e,
Þe gleymen on þe tabour dinge;	Dhe glai·men on dhe taa·bur diq·e;
Þer mouhte men se þe boles beyte,	Dher mout·e men see þe bol·es bai·te
And þe bores, with hundes teyte;	And the boo·res, with нund·es tait·e;
Þo mouthe men se eueril gleu,	Dhoo mout·e men see ev·ril gleu,
Þer mouthe me*n* se hw grim greu;	Dher mout·e men see нuu Grim greu;
Was neu*er*e yete ioie more	Was nev·er ɟet·e dzhoi·e moor·e
In al þis werd, þan þo was þore.	In al dhis werld, dhan dhoo was dhoor·e.
Þer was so mike yeft of cloþes,	Dher was so mik·e ɟeft of kloodh·es
Þat þou i swore you grete othes,	Dhat dhou i swoor·e ɟu greet oodh·es,
I ne wore nouth þer-offe croud:	In·e woor·e nout dherof·e krod:
Þat may i ful wel swere, bi god!	Dhat mai i ful wel sweer·e, bi God!
Þere was swiþe gode metes,	Dher was swidh·e good·e meet·es,
And of wyn, þat men fer fetes,	And of wiin, that men fer fet·es,
Rith al so mik and grete plente,	Riit al soo mik and gret plen·tee·
So it were water of þe se.	Soo it wer waa·ter of dhe see.
Þe feste fourti dawes sat,	Dhe fest·e foour·ti dau·es sat,
So riche was neu*er*e non so þat.	So ritsh·e was nev·er noon so dhat.

Translation.

Butting [there was] with sharp spears,	There might one see how Grim grew;
Fencing with shields that one bears,	Was never yet joy more
Wrestling with lads, putting of (the) stone.	In all this world than then was there.
Harping and piping, full good quantity,	There was so great gift of clothes
Game of Mine, of Hasard eck,	That though I swore you great oaths
Romance reading on the book.	I-(not) were not thereof oppressed:
There might one hear the jests sung,	That may I full well swear, by God.
The gleemen on the tabour drum,	There were very good meats,
There might one see the bulls baited,	And of wine, that one far fetches,
And the boars, with merry [staunch?] hounds,	Right also much and great plenty,
Then might one see every glee,	As-if it were water of the sea.
	The feast fourty days lasted,
	So rich was never none as that.

6. KING HORN, CIRCÀ A.D. 1290.

The story of King Horn exists in three several manuscripts which present such great varieties both of orthography and language, that the text must be considered uncertain. The oldest[1] was apparently written about the latter half of the XIII th century, and is that which will be followed here. In some cases ſ occurs for ȝ or s which represents ȝ. On this orthography see suprà (p. 464). The dialect is Midland, and the whole poem bears a great affinity to Havelok.

There is the usual rhyming of *i*, *e* or *u*, *e* when *u* stands for *i*: adrenche of þinche 105, Westernesse blisse 157, ire = *ear* were 309, wille telle 365, pelle fulle = *pall fill* 401, brunie = *armour* denie = *din* 591, dunte wente 609, ferde hurede 751, custe = *kissed* reste 1189, etc.

There are a few cases of *e*, *a*, in which the *a* should be replaced by *e*, as: biweste laste 5, warne berne 689.

As in Havelok, there are cases of *e*, *o*, in which one or the other letter must be dialectically altered, if the readings are correct: more ȝere 95, swerde orde 623, sende yrlonde 1001, posse Westernesse 1011. We have *a*, *o* in: felawe knowe 1089.

A few cases of *u*, *o*, may shew a dialectic pronunciation of *u* as (o), or *o* as (*u*): stunde londe 167, þoȝte þuȝte 277, buȝe iswoȝe 427, ȝonge isprunge 547, hunde fonde 831.

In some cases *u* = (uu) seems to rhyme with *u* = (yy). In bur mesauentur 325, 649, bure couerture 695, one might fancy that the French word was mispronounced with (uu). The word *lure* 270, might therefore be *to lure*, which makes good sense, and have been used as a term of falconry, but would then, probably in a Saxon's mouth, have been called (luur·e), but it must apparently have been *to lower* or watch for,[2] which would be properly (luur·e), since the Harl. MS. 2253, fo. 85, reads *loure*. *Stuard* 275, 393, is probably a clerical error for *stiuard* compare ags. *stiward*, which

[1] Cambridge Univ. Lib. Gg. 4, 27, 2. This is contrasted with the Bodleian MS. Laud 108 fo. 219*b*, and Harl. MS. 2253, in the preface to: King Horn, with Fragments of Floriz and Blauncheflour, and of the Assumption of our Lady, from a MS. (Gg. 4, 27, 2) in the Cambridge University Library; also from MSS. in the British Museum. The Assumption of our Lady (Add. MSS. 10036) and Fragments of the Floyres and Blancheflur (Cotton Vitellius D. iii), edited with notes and glossary by J. Rawson Lumby, M.A. London, 1866. 8vo. pp. xx, 142. E. E. T. S. The extracts from the three MSS. taken in the above order present the following among other varieties,

he he heo *they*
beon ben ben *be*
ihc ich y *I*
ȝou you ou *you*
laste *sg.*, lesten *pl.*, yleste *sg.*, *last*
fairer feyrer feyrorer *fairer*
rein reyn reyne *rain* s.
miste micte mihte *might*
birine upon-reyne by-ryne *rain upon*
briȝt bricht bryht *bright*
flur flour flour *flower*
colur colur colour *colour*.

[2] "l u r e (n), *O. Dutch* leuren, loren, *Fr.* leurrer, *lure*, *Chauc. C. t.* 5997; lured (*part.*) *vis. P. P.* 3351.—(lûren) lourin, *L. Germ.* lûren (*speculari?*) *lour* (*lower*) *scowl*, *prompt. parv.* 316; loure *Gow. conf. am.* 1, 47; *Rich.* 3470; *vis P. P.* 2735; *Triam.* 1032; louring (*part.*) *Chauc. C. t.* 6848." Stratmann, 373.

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occurs 227, and is the reading of the Harl. MS. 2253 elsewhere. In: ture pure = *tower peer* 1091, we must suppose *pure* = (puur·e), to pore or look intently The origin of the word is very obscure. The reading of the Harl. MS. 2253 is totally different, and introduces *loke* for *pure*.

The form *ou* occasionally, but very rarely occurs, by no means so frequently as in Havelok, is: galun glotoun 1123, harpurs gigours 1471. This applies only to this particular MS. of King Horn. Probably the *ou* is fully as frequent in the Laud. MS. 108, as it is in that MS. copy of Havelok, both these poems being in the same handwriting. The greater rarity of *ou* in this Cam. MS. of King Horn is evidence of its greater antiquity, and forms a presumption in favour of earlier copies of Havelok having also existed. It is certainly desirable for the investigation of the orthography and development of the English language in the XIII th century, and especially with a view to illustrate Havelok, to have the Laud MS. copy of King Horn accurately printed and compared with the Cam. MS. The scribes of the two MS. possibly belonged not only to different times but to different districts, and yet were so nearly contemporary, that the comparison would probably clear up many points of difficulty. In the Harl. MS. 2253, "which has been printed, but very badly, by Ritson in the second volume of his Metrical Romances," (Lumby, p. vi.) the *ou* is paramount.

Sometimes a word is changed for the sake of the rhyme, as; birine = *be-rain* bischine 11, yþe = *ethe* = *easily* diþe = *dethe* = *death* 57, ires = *ears* tires = *tears* 959. The two latter are however perhaps rather to be considered as dialectic peculiarities.

Notwithstanding all these resources the shortness of the lines seems to have driven the rhymester to great shifts, unless the scribe has much belied him, for we have such decidedly false rhymes as: he deie 331, ſofte briȝte 389, biþoȝte miȝte 411, ȝonge bringe 279, ringe ȝonge 565, 1187, (query, read *ȝinge*, the form found in the Harleian MS. 2253,) sede *read* seide leide 691, heirs *read* heiris pris 897, his (?) palais 1255, yrlonde fondede *read* fonde 1513, quene beon 1519. To these we must add: bure foure 1161, unless we admit for (fuu·re) (foou·re) as suprà p. 446, l. 21. It is however probable that all these cases are mistakes. The great diversity of the MSS., forbids us to lay great store by any particular readings.

The marked peculiarity of the poem, and one which makes it worth while to notice it especially, is the prevalence of assonances, single, or double, that is, assonances in which the consonants after the identical accented vowel are different, but those, if there are any, following the identical unaccented vowel are the same or different, as in Spanish; and assonances which being half rhyme and half assonance, may be called *conassonances*, the accented syllables rhyming, and the unaccented being assonant, which also occur in Spanish though they are not legitimate. Compare the assonances of dissyllables and monosyllables in King Alisaunder, suprà p. 452, note, col. 1, l. 13. These assonances, which are so

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clearly developed in King Horn, remove any difficulty about admitting them in Havelok, where they are not so frequent. The following is a list of both kinds.

Assonances: sones gomes 21, beste werste 27, gripe smite 51, admirad bald 89, makede = mak'de uerade 165, swiþe bliue 471, whit ilik 501, proue woȝe 545, take rape 553, trewe leue 561, man cam 787, woȝe gloue 793, nadde harde 863, rynge Rymenhilde 873, 1287, compaynye hiȝe 879, shorte dorste 927, bliþe bliue 967, iknowe oȝe 983, haue felaȝe 995, blowe þroȝe 1009, loȝe rowe 1079, wunder tunge 1247, grauel castel 1465, yswoȝe louȝe *read* loȝe 1479.

Conassonances: moder gode 145, gumes icume 161, doster *read* doȝter þoȝte 249, scholde woldest 395, liȝte kniȝtes 519, feste gestes 521, igolde woldest 643, doȝter ofte 697, ride bridel 771, ariued fiue 807, fiȝte kniȝtes 811, borde wordes 827, hundes funde 881, kniȝtes wiȝte 885, doȝter lofte 903, while bigiled 957, kniȝtes fiȝte 1213, houe proued 1267, draȝe felaȝes 1289, hundred wunder 1329.

The rhyme: time bi me 533, is interesting from its association with the same rhymes in Chaucer and Gower (p. 280).

The word *pleing* 32, seems to be a contraction of *pleying*, and this renders the rhyme: king pleying 32, perfect.

The following may serve as a specimen of the language of this poem, according to this more ancient version. The pronunciation indicates occasionally conjectural emendations, principally for the sake of the metre.

King Horn 223-234, 241-276.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Þe kyng com in to halle	Dhe Kiq kaam in to hal·e,
Among his kniȝtes alle:	Amoq· his knikht·es al·e:
Forþ he clupede aþelbrus,	Forth he klep·ed Aa·thelbruus,
Þat was ſtiward of his hus.	Dhat was Stii·ward of his huus.
Stiwarde, tak nu here	Stii·ward· taak nuu heer·e
Mi fundlyng for to lere	Mi fund·liq, for to leer·e
Of þine meſtere,	Of dhiin·e mesteer·e,
Of wude *and* of riuere,	Of wuud and of riveer·e,
And tech him to harpe	And teetsh him to harp·e
Wiþ his nayles ſcharpe,	With his nail·es sharp·e,
Biuore me to kerue	Bifoor·e mee to kerv·e,
And of þe cupe ſerue.	And of dhe kup·e serv·e.
Ailbrus gan lere	Aa·thelbruus gan lee·re
Horn *and* his yfere:	Horn and his ifee·re:
Horn in herte laȝte	Horn in hert·e lakht·e
Al þat he him taȝte.	Al dhat hee him takht·e.
In þe curt *and* ute	In dhe kuurt and uut·e
And elles al abute,	And el·es al abuut·e
Luuede men horn child,	Luv·de men Horn Tshild.
And meſt him louede Rymenhild,	Meest luvd- im Riim·enhild

Þe kynges oȝene dofter,
He was meſt in þoȝte,
Heo louede so horn child
Þat neȝ heo gan wexe wild:
For heo ne miȝte at borde
Wiþ him ſpeke ne worde,
Ne noȝt in þe halle
Amo*ng* þe kniȝtes alle,
Ne nowhar in non o*þer*e ſtede:
Of folk heo hadde drede:
Bi daie ne bi niȝte
Wiþ him ſpeke ne miȝte.
Hire ſoreȝe ne hire pine
Ne miȝte neure fine.
In heorte heo hadde wo.
And þus hire biþoȝte þo.
Heo ſende hire ſonde
Aþelbrus to honde
Þ*a*t he come hire to,
And alſo ſcholde horn do
Al in to bure,
For heo ga*n* to lure.
And þe ſonde ſeide
Þ*a*t ſik lai þ*a*t maide
And bad him come ſwiþe,
For heo nas noþing bliþe.
Þe ſtuard was in herte wo,
For he nuſte what to do.

Dhe kiq·es oogh·ne dokht·er.
Hir was -e meest in thokht·e.
Heo luv·de soo Horn Tshild
Dhat нeo gan weks·e wild.
For нeo ne mikht at boord·e
With нim speek·e noo word·e
Nee nokht in dhe нal·e
Amoq· dhe knikht·es al·e,
Nee in noon oodh·re steed·e.
Of folk нeo нad·e dreed·e.
Bi dai·e nee bi nikht·e
With нim speek нeo ne mikhte.
Hir sor·ghe nee нir piin·e
Ne mikht·e nev·re fiin·e.
In нert нeo had·e woo.
Dhus нir bithokht·e dhoo.
Heo ſende нire sond·e
Aa·thelbruus to нond·e,
Dhat he kuum нir too,
And al·so shold Horn doo
Al in too нir buu·re,
For нeo gan to luu·re.
And dhe sond·e said·e
Dhat sik lai dhat maid·e
And bad him kuum·e swiidh·e,
For нeo n-as noo·thiq bliidh·e.
Dhe Stii·ward was dher woo,
For нe nust·e what to doo.

Translation.

The king came in to hall
Among his knights all.
Forth he called Athelbrus
That was steward of his house.
"Steward take now here
My foundling, for to teach
Of thy craft,
Of wood and of river,
And teach him to harp
With his sharp nails,
Before me to carve,
And serve of the cup."
Athelbrus began to teach
Horn and his companions.
Horn received in his heart
All that he taught him.
In the court and out
And else all about
Loved one Horn Child.
Most loved him Rimenhild,
The king's own daughter.
To-her was he most in thought.
She loved so Horn Child
That she began to grow wild.

For she might not at table
With him speak no word,
Nor nought in the hall
Among all the knights,
Nor in no other place.
Of people she had dread.
By day nor by night
With him she might not speak.
Her sorrow nor her pain
Might not ever cease.
In heart she had woe.
Thus bethought her then.
She would-send hir messenger
To the hand of Athelbrus,
That he should come-to her,
And thus should bring Horn
All into her bower.
For she began to lower (lure ?)
And the messenger said,
That sick lay the maid
And bad him come quickly (?)
For she was in no wise blithe.
To-the steward was woe,
For he knew-not what to do.

7. MORAL ODE, PATER NOSTER, ORISON, END OF XII TH CENTURY.

The compositions of the XIII th century have all a decidedly local character, but the phonetic meaning of the letters, *which is all we have to deal with*, seems as firmly established as in the XIV th. The poems mentioned above belong perhaps to the XII th century. The copies to which we shall refer have been published for the Early English Text Society.[1] It will not be necessary to examine them in much detail. They present much the same character as Havelok, with the *e*, *i* and *e*, *o* and *o*, *a* rhymes. The orthography is very unsteady, and it is difficult to feel certain in any place that we are not dealing with a scribal error rather than a peculiarity of pronunciation. It will be sufficient to deal with a few peculiarities.

THE MORAL ODE, or POEMA MORALE: Rowen sowen = *rue sow* 19, written: ruwen seowen, in the Egerton MS., are ags. hreowan, sawan, and can only rhyme by the dialectic interchange of *e*, *o*, as: shewe lowe, in Havelok (suprà p. 476). Seide misdede 129, seiden reden 223, require a peculiar dialectic pronunciation of *seide* as *sede*, and that this existed we learn not only from the orthography: of sede, rede 155, in this MS. but from the parallel rhymes: sede misdede 131, sede rede 225 in the Egerton MS. See suprà, p. 447. Hulde felde 343, hulle fulle 347 and durlinges 385, are examples of the use of *u* for *i*, or *e*, common in this MS.

THE PATER NOSTER offers many examples of *u* for *i*: wule 14, of-þunche*ȝ* 16, ufele 17, þenne wunne = *win* 19, inne sunne = *sin* 23, 139, 224, wulle ifulle 55, sunne unwune 282. The rhyme: bone clene 167, shews how *o* was written for *e* even when *e* was pronounced. Wrei*ȝ* segge*ȝ* 179, shews the derivation of the (ai) sound from (e*g*h), and: mei dei 169, shews the identity of *ei*, *ai*.

The ORISON, or ON GOD UREISON OF URE LEFDI, contains a few peculiarities which suggest scribal errors: Marie lefde 1, lefdi liuie 11, lefdi beien 17, could not have rhymed. The first would be satisfied by the more ancient form *lefdie*, ags. hlæfdie, which is justified by *lafdie* in Layamon, 15647, or else by the contracted form *Mari*, which we have already had reason to suspect, p. 441. The difficulty of: lefdie beie 17, as it would then be written, is the same as that of: beie offrie 2, and: lefdie liuie 11 offers a singular form for *liue*, and a transmuted accent. See several other instances of like forms, suprà p. 446. See also the infinitives in the *Assumpcioun* in Lumby's King Horn, p. 44, and in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite*. Kwene reine = *queen rain*, 57, should evidently be: kwene rene, the old ags. form *ren*, which existed as well as *regen*, here coming into use.

[1] Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises (Sawles Warde, and þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd: Ureisuns of Ure Louerd and of Ure Lefdi, etc.) of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, edited from MSS. in the British Museum, Lambeth and Bodleian Libraries, with introduction, translation and notes by Richard Morris, 1867–8. The Moral Ode is No. 17, p. 158, and a duplicate of the first 270 lines from the Egerton MS. is given in an Appendix, p. 288. The Pater Noster is on p. 55, and the Orison on p. 191.

The following brief extract from the Paternoster will convey some notion of the language.

Paternoster, 75-98.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Adueniat regnum tuum.	Adveen·iat reg·num tuu·um.
Cume þi riche we seggeð hit.	Kuum·e dhi riitsh·e! We sai·eth ʜit.
Hercnið alle to þis writ.	Herk·nith al·e too dhis *rw*it.
his riche is al þis middeleard.	His riitsh is al dhis mid·el erd,
Eorðe *and* heofene and uwilcherd	Erth and ʜev·n- and ii·wilk ʜerd.
of*er* alle is his muchele mihte.	Ov·er al is ʜis mutsh·le mikht·e
lauerd he is icleped mid rihte.	Lav·erd ʜe is iklep·ed mid rikht·e
Lauerd he is of alle scafte.	Lav·erd ʜe is of al·e skaft·e.
In eorðe. i*n* heuene is his mahte	In erth, in hev·en is ʜis makht·e:
alle þe scafte þe he bi-gon.	Al·e dhe skaft·e dhee ʜe bigon·,
þet is þet sodðe hit wes for mon	Dhet is dhet soodh, ʜit wes for mon.
alle þi*n*ge he makede æt agan.	Al·e thiq ʜe maaked [? ?]
Er he efre makede mon.	Eer ʜe ev·re maak·de mon.
he makede mon i rihtwisnesse.	He maak·de mon i rikht·wisnes·e,
Onlete on his onlichnesse.	On·leet on ʜis on·litshnes·e.
Alle dor *and* fuȝel ifliht:	Al·e door and fuugh·el iflikht·
lete he makede adunriht.	Leet -e maak·ed aduun·rikht:
þene Mo*n* he lufede *and* welbi-þohte.	Dheen·e Mon ʜe luvd- and wel bithokht·e,
and for-þi his neb upward he wrohte.	And fordhii· ʜis neb up·ward· he *rw*okht·e.
þe*t* wes al mid muchele skile:	Dhet was al mid mutsh·le skiile,
ȝif he hit understondon wile.	Jif ʜe ʜit un·derstond·on wiil·e.
Neb upwardes he him wrohte.	Neb up·ward·es ʜee ʜim *rw*okht·e.
he walde þet he of him þoht[e].	He wald·e dhet ʜee of ʜim thokht·e,
Al swa þe lauerd þet him wrohte.	Alswaa dhe Lav·erd dhet ʜim *rw*okht·e.

Mr. Morris's Translation.

Adveniat regnum tuum.
Thy kingdom come, we do say it,
Hearken all unto this writ!
His kingdom is this middle earth,
Earth and heaven, and each abode;
Over all is his great might.
Lord he is called with right;
Lord he is of all creatures,
In earth and heaven is his might.
All the creatures that he formed,
That is truth, it was for man,
All things he made to appear
Before he ever made man.
He made man in righteousness,
In the form of his own likeness.
All deer (animals) and fowl of flight
He made to stoop adownright (downwards).
Man he loved and cared for well,
And therefore his face upward he wrought,
That was all for a good skill (reason),
If that understand ye will.
Face upwards he him wrought,
He would that man of him thought,
That he should love him with thought (in his mind)
As the Lord that him wrought.

§ 2. *Unrhymed Poems of the Thirteenth Century and Earlier.*

The rhymed poems having resulted in a satisfactory determination of the values of the letters, it is necessary to apply the result to the examination of documents in which no rhyme is employed. The first of these that has been selected is so careful in its orthography that it is in many respects more fitted for our purpose than the laxly written poems already considered. The second has chiefly antiquity to recommend it, and its principal phonetic value lies in the great diversity of representations which it supplies for the same word.

1. ORRMIN'S ORRMULUM, END OF XII TH CENTURY.

Orrmin's Orrmulum[1] is written in a strict orthography, with some inevitable slips here and there perhaps, which escaped the author's evidently careful and repeated revision,[2] and as the object of this orthography was phonetic, the poem may be fairly considered as being the first example of the application of the purely phonetic principle in the orthography of English.

Orrmin's scheme was to double the following consonant when a vowel was short. The origin of the feeling which led to this notation has been already explained (p. 55). This plan has the obvious disadvantage of not indicating the length of a vowel when *no*

[1] The Ormulum. Now first edited from the original manuscript in the Bodleian (Jun. MS. 1.) with Notes and a Glossary by Robert Meadows White, D.D. Oxford, 1852, 2 vols. 8vo. "If we consider alone the character of the handwriting, the ink, and the material used by the scribe, we find reasons for placing the date of the MS. early in the thirteenth century," pref. lxxii. Mr. Garnett considers it to have been written in Peterborough. Dr. White writes "*The* Ormulum" with a prefixed *the* and single *r* in the above title, but in the introduction we read—

þiss boc iss nemmnedd Orrmulum
forrþi þatt Orrm itt wrohhte

where *Orrm* is a contraction for *Orrmin* as we see by the example given below, p. 491 dedication 324.

[2] In the facsimile of the sixteen opening lines prefixed to White's edition, we see that the second consonant in a reduplication was sometimes written over the other, and sometimes not. The same was the case occasionally with h in ȝh, etc. Thus, representing the superior consonant by an italic, we have in these sixteen lines, broþe*rr* (twice), trow*w*þe, taken*n*, reȝ*h*ell, follȝ*h*enn, swasum*m* (twice), þi*n*wille, wen*n*d, lit*t*le, hafeþ*þ*. As we have also at length broþerr (twice), Wallt', afft', flæshess, crisstenndom, þurrh (three times), fulluhht, godess, þatt, witt, hafenn, etc., and as in the cases of superposition the writing was crowded, I conceive these to have been corrections, similar to the little accent marks by which words were separated that had been too closely written. If then in some cases we find a single consonant where we should have expected a double consonant, we may fairly attribute it to a slip which has escaped correction. Occasionally, where two consonants follow the vowel, the first consonant seems not to have been doubled, either through the author's inadvertence or from his not having thoroughly settled the system of writing, so that we find *kinde* and *finndenn*, which must have both had a short *i*, and may be compared to the double forms *amang*, *amanng*, which must have signified the same sound.

consonant followed. Thus in the opening lines *þe, i, o, to, swa* were all probably short, and *ba* = both, was long. The writing, however, shews no difference. There was also this inconvenience that as the short vowels are more frequent than the long, the writing was overladen with doubled letters. The expedient of doubling the vowel to indicate length, also very common and natural, overcomes both difficulties, as may be seen by the example of pronunciation in palæotype below p. 490. Thorpe in the Preface to his *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, 1846, p. xi, attributes to Orrmin the precise correspondence of long and short vowels which exist at the present day,[1] so that according to him Orrmin's *a, e, i, o, u* represented (*ee* æ, ii e, ɵi *i*, *oo* ɔ, uu ɵ), an hypothesis which our preceding investigations render untenable. If any weight is to be attributed to our determination of the values of *a, e, i, o* in Chaucer, and *u* in the *Cuckoo Song*, we can hardly conceive the pairing of the vowels to have been otherwise then (aa a, ee e, ii i, oo o, uu u), except that very possibly (*aa a*, EE E, *ii i*) may have replaced the first three pairs, and as to the last pair, there might, from previous examples, be a suspicion that the long and short *u* may have been at least occasionally (yy, y); but no examples of the use of *u* for *i*, *e* seem to occur, so that *u* should probably be always read as (uu, u). The form *ou* for (uu) never occurs.

There are very few divided vowels, but we meet with *æ* and *eo*. The *æ* in numerous instances replaces an ags. *ea* as in: dæd *dead* dead, dræm *dream* sound, ræm *hream* cry, tæm *team* offspring, flærd *fleard* mockery, stæp *steap* steep. It often alternates with *e* and sometimes even with *eo*, thus we have: drædenn dredenn, 2 pr. drædesst, 3 pr. dredeþþ, 2 pl. drædenn, 3 p. dredde, imp. dred; dræfedd, dreofedd, drefedd. These confusions seem to indicate that *æ, eo, e* had the same sound. Even if *æ* retained its true ags. sound, which was probably (ææ, æ), this would readily be confounded with (EE, E), and this again with (ee, e). It seems preferable then to give *æ* the same sound as *e*, viz. (ee, e), or else to regard *æ* as (E), and *e* as (e).

As respects *eo*, Mr. White observes that: "a remarkable instance of the preference of *e* for *eo* will be found by the omission, nearly

[1] He says: "The author seems to have been a critic in his mother-tongue; and to [through ?] his idea of doubling the consonant after a short vowel (as in German), we are enabled to form some tolerably accurate notions as to the pronunciation of our forefathers. Thus he writes min with a single *n* only because the *i* is long or diphthonal, as in our *mine*. So also in kinde (pronounced as our *kind*,) dom, boc, had, lif (pronounced as our *life*), etc. On the other hand, wherever the consonant is doubled, the vowel preceding is short and sharp, as in ȝett (pronounced as our *yet*, not *yate*, as it would be if written with a single *t*) Godd (pronounced *God*, not *Gode*), etc. Thus hus is to be pronounced *hoos*, whereas þuss, with a double *s*, is our *thus*." Tyrwhitt, in his Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, Part III. § iv. note 52, declares himself unable to comprehend the meaning of those doubled consonants, and in quoting the commencement of the Dedication, "ventures (first begging Ormin's pardon for disregarding his injunction) to leave out the *superfluous* letters." To have been consistent, then, he should have written: beging, lev, leters, instead of the "superfluously lettered" beg*g*ing, lea*v*e, let*t*ers!

uniform, of *o* in the latter part of the MS., in the inserted leaves, and in the dedication and preface, as in the forms lede, þede, werelld, etc., the *o* having been written in the above words and in others in the first part of the MS., afterwards erased, and then re-written. In these last named instances the *o* has been retained in printing in order to preserve the orthography. Perhaps the *o* was rejected as not essential for pronunciation; Cf. our word *people*." Of course such deletions and restitutions of *o* could not have taken place unless *eo* formed one syllable, as White observes, quoting v. 8571:

> þa shulenn beon off heore kinn.

Possibly the writing may have been Orrmin's, the deletion his brother's, who was requested to examine the manuscript, ded. v. 65:

> Annd te bitæche icc off þiss boc
> heh wikenn[1] alls itt semeþþ
> all to þurrhsekenn illc an ferrs
> annd to þurrhlokenn offte,

certainly rather for the purpose of detecting trips in doctrine,

> þatt upponn all þis boc ne be
> nan word ȝæn Cristess lare,
> nan word tatt swiþe wel ne be
> to trowwenn annd to follȝhenn;

but we can easily imagine "broþerr Wallterr" having extended his observations to the spelling, and Orrmin having on further reflection, restored his own orthography. In this case Orrmin attached a value to *eo* different from (ee). However it be, we find as a matter of fact that in White's glossary almost every word spelled with *eo* has a secondary form spelled with simple *e*. This would rather indicate (ee⌊o), with a strongly marked (ee) and an evanescent (o), comparable to the (*oo*⌊u, *oo'w*) in our modern pronunciation of *know* = (n*oo*u).

The forms *ai, ei, au, ou* do not occur, but the syllables iȝȝ, eȝȝ, aȝȝ, aww, eww, most probably indicated the presence of diphthongs. The letter ȝ had of course a different sound from *g*. The regular (gh) sound seems to have been written *ȝh*, while (kh) was *h* or *hh*. Thus from *aȝhenn* to own, we have *ah* owns, and *ahhte* goods, cattle. We have also *berrȝhenn* to save, *berrhless* salvation. Observe that in these cases *ȝh* comes before a vowel, as in *hallȝhe, reȝhell, folȝhenn*, etc., and *h, hh*, before a consonant or at the end of a word, and this rule appears to have been consistently carried out. The simple ȝ then probably functioned as (ɹ), as in: ȝarrken, ȝate, ȝe, ȝelden, ȝellpenn, ȝeorne ȝeorrne ȝerne ȝerrne, ȝer, ȝife, ȝiff, ȝilt, ȝocc, ȝol, ȝung, ȝure. The initial ȝh is peculiar to the word *ȝho* = she and the contraction *ȝhō't* = *ȝho itt*. In the later text of Laȝamon we have *ȝeo* for she; see also *ghe, ge*, suprà p. 467. It would be difficult to pronounce *ȝho* otherwise than (*g*ho, ɹho), and it would seem to be a peculiar derivative from *heo*, the (ɹh) being generated in the same way that it is in a not unusual modern pro-

[1] White translates, office, duty, charge. See Laȝamon's wikenares = attendants, and Stratmann sub voce wîken.

nunciation of the words, *hue*, *Hume*, *Hughes* = (ɹhuu, Jhuum, Jhuuz). From these (ɹho, ɹhe) forms the subsequent (shoo, shee, shii) easily follow. What then was the effect of ȝ when final? We know that many orthoepists, as Wallis, consider that the final element in the diphthongs (ai, au) is (ɹ, w) and not (i, u), p. 186. We see also from the example of *Awwstin*, Ded. v. 10, which we know from Latin sources must have been (Austiin·), that Orrmin belonged to this class. It follows therefore that *eww* must must have been (eu) in *cnewwe* and that *aȝȝ*, *eȝȝ* must have been (ai, ei), or (aai, eei), as it is unlikely that Orrmin would have made the difference, the duplication of ȝ serving only to shew the strict diphthongation of the elements.

The legitimacy of this interpretation will be more readily admitted after an inspection of the following lists of all simple words which I have observed in Orrmin containing aȝȝ and eȝȝ.

aȝȝ *aye*
daȝȝ *day*, gen. and pl. daȝhess, daȝȝess; ags. dæg
faȝȝerr *fair*, ags. fægr
faȝȝre *fairly*, ags. fægere
fraȝȝnen *to ask*, ags. fregnan, Lancashire frayne.
maȝȝ (1) *may*, ags. mæg; (2) *maid* icel. mey.
maȝȝdenn *maiden*, ags. mægden
maȝȝstre *magister*
maȝȝþe *tribe*, ags. mægð
naȝȝ *nay*
naȝȝlenn *to nail*, ags. næglian
waȝȝ *woe*
waȝȝn *wain*, ags. wægn
waȝȝneþþ *carrieth*, ags. wegan
beȝȝen *gen. of* ba both
beȝȝsanns *bezants*
beȝȝse *bitter*, icel. beiskr
beȝȝtenn *to beat*, ags. beatan
clænleȝȝe *chastity*
eȝȝe *fear*, ags. eg
eȝȝlenn *to ail*, ags. eglan
eȝȝþerr *either*, ags. ægþer
eȝȝwhær *everywhere*, ags. æghwær
fleȝȝl *flail*, old Fr. flaial, Lat. flagellum
geȝȝnen *to gain*, icel. at gégna
geȝȝnlike *conveniently*, icel. gégnilega
idleleȝȝe *idleness*
leȝȝest leȝȝeþþ leȝȝde leȝȝ *layest layeth laid lay, from* leggenn *to lay.*
leȝȝkenn *to play*, icel. at leika
leȝȝtenn *to inquire*, icel. at leita
metleȝȝe *humility*
reȝȝn *rain*, ags. ren, regn
reȝȝnenn *to rain*
reȝȝsenn *to raise*, icel. at reisa *to travel*
seȝȝst seȝȝþ seȝȝde *sayest saith said from* seggeun
tweȝȝen *twain*
þeȝȝ *they*
þeȝȝm *them*
þeȝȝre *their*
weȝȝe *way*, age. weg

In almost all these cases we see aȝȝ answering to ags. *ag æg eg*, and eȝȝ to ags. *eg* and once *ea*, or Icel. *ei*, and twice *é* = (ɹe). The most remarkable exception is *þeȝȝm* from ags. *þam*, as it accounts for the form *þeim*, *þaim*, (p. 442, Pater. v. 8), and perhaps for *þeis*, forms sometimes found in old English. It does not seem possible to establish the transition of *ag* into *ai* (agh, a*g*h, aɹ, ai) more clearly.

The combinations *iȝ* or *iȝȝ* occur in *-liȝ*, as *innwarrdliȝ*, *witerrliȝ*, and in *twiȝȝess* and similar words, where the difference of the single ȝ and double ȝȝ has to be noted. Properly the sound should be that of the very common German termination *-ig*, as *inwendig*, *wahrhaftig*, which is theoretically (-i*g*h) and practically (-i*k*h), as (in·bhend:i*g*h, bhaar·ʜaft:i*gh*), or (in·bhend:i*kh*, bhaar·ʜaft:i*k*h). It would therefore be hazardous to read *iȝ*, *iȝȝ*, otherwise than as (ii*k*h, i*k*h) final or (ii*g*h, i*g*h) before vowels. The objection that these sounds when final should have been written *-ih*, *-ihh*, must be met by the habit of the ags. final *-ig*. The same reason may have led Orrmin to use ȝȝ in the middle of a word in

place of ȝȝ*h*, which would have been the regular reduplication of ȝ*h*, compare *ssh* in *English*, dedication 109. The value of *uw* in ȝ*uw* is doubtful, but it does not seem likely to have differed from (uu). The *f* between two vowels, and frequently elsewhere, was most probably (*v*), a letter which Orrmin avoids, but *ff* was of course (f). This would accord with the modern Welsh usage.

As to the final *e*, the rule of pronunciation given, by the strict observation of the number of syllables in each line, is precisely that at which we arrived for Chaucer, down to the occasional elision of an inflectional final *e*, even when not preceding a vowel, in which case Orrmin simply left it out.[1] The elisions, however, are not so frequent as in Chaucer. Thus, in the first 1000 lines of the Homilies in White's text, final *e* is elided five times before *himm*, three times before *he*, twice before *himm* and *hiss*, once before *hu* and once before *Herodess* v. 277, which is very peculiar. The elisions before a vowel are more common. Open *e* perhaps does not occur, so that the practice of the end of the XIV th century is justified by an English practice at the beginning of the XIII th, which cannot have been influenced by Norman habits. Coalescent words also occur as *þalde*, *namm* = þe alde, ne amm, *hét* = he itt, *noff* = ne off, *nafe*, *naffde* = ne hafe, ne haffde, etc. A final *d* or *t* changes the following *þ* to *t*, a practice which we have met with before (p. 444, n. 2), and which was still preserved in Chaucer's: *wiltow* = wilt thou, etc. (p. 371), but here carried much further. We may therefore feel considerable confidence in pronouncing Orrmulum as follows:

Orrmulum, Dedication.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Annd whase wilenn shall þiss boc	And whaa·see wii·len shal this book
efft oþerr siþe writenn, 96	eft oo·dher sii·dhe rwii·ten,
himm bidde icc þatt hét wríte rihht	Him bid ik dhat Hee-t rwii·te rihht
swa summ þiss boc himm tæcheþþ,	swaa sum dhis book him TEETSH·eth,
all þwerrt ú't affterr þatt itt iss uppo þiss firrste bisne, 100	al thwert uut aft·er dhat it is upoo· dhis first·e biis·ne,
wiþþ all swillc ríme alls her iss sett,	with al swilk riim als heer is set

Verbal Translation.

And whoso shall desire this book	All throughout after (the way) that it is
Again another time to write, 96	On this first example, 100
Him beg I that he it write rightly	With all such number as is here set (forth,)
Just as this book him teacheth,	

[1] White cites the examples: fra mann' to manne 11219; to king' 8449, to kinge 8370; to grund' 11773, to grunde 12547; o faderr hallf' 2269, o faderr hallfe 2028; i Godess hus' 625, inn huse 2112; off slap' 1903, off slæpe 3143; þatt læredd' follc 15876, þatt lærede follc 7440; att inn' 12926, att inne 12739; whæroff' 13694, whæroffe 13704; off witeȝhunng 14416, off witeȝhunnge 14617, where I have introduced an apostrophe to mark the elision. This omission of *e* in writing sometimes takes place before a vowel, where it was not necessary according to Orminn's system of writing.

wiþþ all se fele wordess;
annd tatt he loke wel þatt he
an bocstaff wríte twiȝȝess 104
eȝȝwhær þær itt uppo þiss boc
iss wrĭtenn o þatt wise;
loke he well þatt hé't write swa, 107
forr he ne maȝȝ nohht elless
onn Ennglissh wrítenn rihht te word,
þatt wite he wel to soþe.
Annd ȝiff mann wile wĭtenn whi
icc hafe don þiss dede, 112
whi icc till Ennglissh hafe wennd
goddspelless hallȝhe lare;
icc hafe itt don forrþi þatt all
crisstene follkess berrhless 116
iss lang uppo þatt an, þatt teȝȝ
goddspelless hallȝhe lare
wiþþ fulle mahhte follȝhe rihht,
þurrh þohht, þurrh word, þurrh dede.

* * * *

Icc þatt tiss Ennglissh hafe sett
Ennglisshe menn to lare, 322
ic wass, þær þær I crisstnedd wass,
Orrmin bi name nemmnedd.
annd icc Orrmin full innwarrdliȝ,
wiþþ muþ annd ec wiþþ herrte, 326
her bidde þa Crisstene menn
þatt herenn oþerr rédenn
þiss boc, hemm bidde icc her þatt teȝȝ
forr me þiss bede biddenn: 330

with al see fee·le word·es;
and tat HE look·e wel dhat HEE
aan book·staf *rwii*·te twi*gh*·es
ei·wheer dheer it upoo· dhis book
is r*wit*·en oo dhat wii·se;
look HEE wel dhat HEE-t r*wii*·te swaa,
forr HEE ne mai nokht el·es
on Eq·lish r*wii*·ten ri*kh*t te word,
dhat wiit HE wel to sooth·e
And ȝif man wiil·e wit·en whii
ik HAAV·e doon dhis deed·e,
whii ik til Eq·lish HAAV·e wennd
god·spel·es HAL*gh*·e laa·re;
ik HAAV· it doon fordhii· dhat al
cristee·ne folk·es berkh·les
is laq upoo· dhat aan, dhat tei
god·spel·es HAL*gh*·e laa·re
with ful·e makht·e fol*gh*·e ri*kh*t, thur*kh* thokht, thur*kh* woord, thur*kh* dee·de.

* * * *

Ik dhat tis Eq·lish HAAV·e set
Eq·lish·e men to laa·re,
ik was, dheer dheer i krist·ned was,
Ormiin· bi naam·e nemm·ned.
And ik Ormiin· ful in·wardli*gh*
with muuth and eek with hert·e,
HEER bid·e dhaa kristee·ne men
dhat HEE·ren oo·dher ree·den
dhis book, HEM bid ik HEER dhat tei
for mee dhis bee·de bid·en:

Verbal Translation.

With all so many words,
And that he look well, that he
One letter write twice, 104
Everywhere where it upon this book
Is written on that wise;
Look he well that he it write so,
For he may not else 108
In English write rightly the word,
That know he well to sooth.
And if one will know why
I have done this deed, 112
Why I into English have turned
Gospel's holy lore;
I have done it because that all
Christian people's salvation 116
Is along of that one (thing), that they
Gospel's holy lore
With full power follow rightly,
By thought, by word, by deed. * * *
I that this English have set (forth) 321
Englishmen to teach,
I was there where I christened was,
Orrmin by name named;
And I Orrmin full inwardly,
With mouth and eke with heart 326
Here pray the Christian men
That hear or read
This book, them pray I here that they
For me this prayer pray: 330

þatt broþerr þatt tiss Ennglisshwritt	dhat broo·dher dhat tis Eq·lishrwit
allræresst wrá't annd wrohhte,	alREE·restrwaat annd rwokht·e,
þatt broþerr, forr hiss swinnc to læn,	dhat broo·dher, for HIS swiqk to LEEN
soþ blisse móte findenn. 334	sooth blis·e moo·te find·en.

Verbal Translation.

That brother that this English writing First of all (men) wrote and wrought,	That brother for his labour to reward, True bliss may (he) find.

As considerable doubt attaches to the length of the vowel in old English, and as Orrmin's orthography is meant to resolve that doubt, it seems worth while to collect together all the instances where he seems to mark vowels as long. In the following lists, which have been collected from White's glossary, all the simple (uncompounded) words in which a long vowel before a consonant appeared to be indicated with tolerable certainty have been collected. To all cases in which a vowel is followed by more than one consonant, and the first of those consonants is not doubled, doubt attaches, because Orrmin's usage fluctuates in some of them, and he seems to have thought that two consonants would act occasionally as well as a doubled consonant. Such words are therefore excluded, as are also all monosyllables ending in a vowel, and therefore of undetermined quantity. The use of the short sign (˘) sometimes seems to indicate a short vowel, where only one consonant follows, and hence a few of the following words may be doubtful, but on the whole it would seem that a long vowel was intended in each of the following cases.

LIST OF ORRMIN'S WORDS CONTAINING LONG VOWELS.[1]

Long A (aa)	dale	ladeþþ	raþe	wraþ
adle	drake	laf	raþenn	þafe
afell	drazhenn	laferrd	sake	þrazhe
azhe	faderr	lah	same	
an	fakenn	lakenn	samenn	*Long Æ* (æa)
aniz	farenn	lare	sare	ædiz
ar	frame	late	shame	æfre
are	gal	lazhe	shapeþþ	ær
arenn	gan	makenn	skaþesst	ærd
atell	gate	male	slan	ære
aþell	zate	man	snaþ	æst
aþess	zatenn	manaþ	stan	æþ
aþumm	zehatenn	maniz	strac	bære
awihht	grap	mare	sware	bærenn
baþe	had	nakedd	swat	bætenn
brad	hafenn	name	takenn	bræd
braþ	hal	nan	tale	dæd
kafe	haliz	naness	wac	dæf
kare	ham	naþe	wakenn	dæh
chariz	hat	ran *touched*	war	dæl-enn
clake	hatenn	rap	wat *knew*	dæw
claþ	lac	ras	waterr	dæþ
cnape	lade	raþ	wrat	dræfedd

[1] This list and the following have been checked by Mr. Brock.

dræm
færenn
fæwe
flæsh
ȝæp
gætenn
hæfedd
hæle
hæp
hær
hæse
hæte
hæþenn
hæwenn
whær
læc
læche
læfe
læpenn
lærenn
lætenn
mælenn
mæless
mæne
mære
mæþ
næfre
ræd
rædiȝ
ræfenn
ræm
ræw
sæm
shædenn
shæwenn
shrædenn
slæn
slæp
spæche
stæp
stræm
stræte
tæchenn
tælenn
tæm-enn
wæde
wædle
wælinng
wæpenn
wæte
þær-e
þæw
þræpenn

Long E (ee)
ægede
bede
bene
berenn
betenn
breme
kechell
kelenn
kene
chepinng
chesenn
kepenn
clene
clepenn
cnedesst
cnelenn
cwemenn
cwen
dede
deme-nn
depe
deȝenn
drefedd
dreȝhenn
ec
eche
efenn
ekenn
ele
etenn
eȝhe
fedenn
fele
fere
fleteþþ
fleȝhenn
frend
ȝemenn
ȝer
ȝetenn
grediȝ
grene
gresess
gretenn
hefenn
heh
her
here
herenn
hete
hew
hewenn
heȝhe
ledenn
lefe
lefenn
lem
lenenn
letenn
leȝhe
leȝhenn
mede
mekenn
mele
menenn
meneþþ
mete
metedd
meȝhe
ned
nedl
neh
new
peninng
prest
redenn
reȝhell
sec
sed
sefenn
sekenn
sel
ser
shene
shep
shetenn
slep
smec
smere
smeþe
sped
spedenn
spekenn
stekenn
ster
stren
swere
swet
tekenn
tene
tredenn
wedenn
wel
wen-enn
wepenn
were
werenn
wrekenn
wreȝenn
þede
þes
þeþenn

Long I (ee)
abidenn
bisne
bliþe
kiþenn
cnif
drifenn
fif
filenn
fir
ȝifenn
giferr
hiderr
hire
hiȝ
whil
idell
ifell
irenn
lic
lich
lif
like
likenn
lim
limess
lin
litell
liþe
mikell
min
mineþþ
nimenn
niþ
niȝhen
pine-nn
ridinngess
rime
risenn
shineþþ
shir
shridenn
shrifenn
side
sikenn
sikerr
siþe
siȝe
skiledd
skir
smikerr
smitenn
stidiȝ
stih
stirenn
stiȝhenn
swin
swiþe
tid
time
wic
wide
wif
win
wis
wise
wite
witenn
witerr
wiþerr
writenn
þiderr
þise

Long O (oo)
blod
blome
boc
bode
bodiȝ
bone
boȝhess
bote
boþe
broþerr
clofenn
come
croc
dom
don
flod
flor
flowedd
fode
fon
fot
frofre
god
ȝol
gom
hof
holeþþ
hope
hoȝhefull
inoh
lofenn
lokenn
lome
loȝhe
mod
moderr
mone
moneþ
mot-e
notesst
oferr
ofne
oþerr
ploh
rhof
rode
ros
rosenn
rote
rotenn
scone
shop
sloþ
snoterr
sone
soþ
stoke-ss
toc
tor
wod
woh
wokenn

wop	buȝhenn	ȝure	muȝhenn	þutenn
woȝhe	cludess	huniȝ	numen	tun
þolenn	clutess	hus	rum	uferr
	crune	husell	rune	ure
Long U (uu)	cumenn	hutenn	shrud	usell
brukenn	cuþ	lhude	sumerr	ut-e-nn
bufenn	dun	lufe-nn	sune	uþe
bule	dure	lukenn	sur	wude
bun	fule	lutenn	sutell	wuke
bure	fus	muþ	suþ	wunenn
butenn				

As considerable interest attaches to the determination of such adjectives and substantives as had a final *e* in early English, and as Orrmin's versification establishes with certainty the pronunciation of such letters, except when they are elidably situate, I have collected from White's glossary all such words, adding the meaning. A few substantives are only found in oblique cases, and these are marked † because the *e* may be only inflexional. In the case of the adjectives it is not always certain, from a simple inspection of the glossary, whether the *e* is a mere mark of the plural or of the definite inflection. When I have detected either of these to be the case I have omitted the adjective from the list, but I have not thought it necessary to verify every case. Such a table of German nouns and adjectives would seem ridiculous to a German, because he cannot dissociate the *e* from the words. We have become so used to its absence that every kind of artificial means is necessary to restore the association.

LIST OF ORRMIN'S ADJECTIVES AND SUBSTANTIVES ENDING IN E.

adle *disease*	blisse *bliss*	dædbote *repentance*	fallse *false*
æbære *clear*	bliþe *blithe*	dale *part*	fasste *fast* a.
ægede † *luxury*	blome *blome*	dærne *secret*	féle, fēle, fele *many*
ære *ear*	blostme *blossom*	daffte *humble*	feorþe *fourth*
æte *food*	bode *command*	dāle *valley*	fére fēre *power*
ahhte *goods*	bone *boon*	dede *deed*	fifte *fifth*
ane *alone* (? adv.)	bote *remedy*	deme † *judge*	fiftende † *fifteenth*
ange *sorrow*	boþe *booth*	deope, depe *deep*	fode *food*
anndsæte *odious*	braþþe *anger*	deore, dere *dear*	forrme *first*
anndsware *answer*	breme *furious*	driȝȝe *dry*	frame *profit*
are *grace*	bridale *bridal*	druhhþe † *drought*	fremmde *strange*
arrke *ark*	bridgume *bride-groom*	dure *door*	frofre † *comfort*
asse *ass*	bulaxe *axe*	dwillde *error*	frummþe *beginning*
axe *axe*	bule *bull*	eche *eternal*	fulre *foul-er*
aȝhe *awe*	bure † *bower*	egge † *edge*	galle *gall*
bære *bier*	care *care*	ehhte *eight*	gate *way*
bede *prayer*	chele *cold*	elde † *age*	genge *gang*
belle *bell*	chepinngboþe *market-booth*	ele *oil*	gillte † *tribute*
bene *prayer*	chesstre *city*	ende *end country*	grene *green*
bennche † *bench*	clake † *accusation*	eorþe, erþe *earth*	greȝȝfe *herald*
berrme † *barm*	clene *clean*	errfe *animal*	grimme *grim*
berrne † *barn*	cribbe *crib*	errnde *errand*	hæle *health*
bettre *better*	cūde *cud*	eȝhe *eye*	hæse † *command*
bilenge *belonging to*	cullfre *dove*	eȝhesallfe *eye-salve*	hæte † *heat*
birde *lineage*	cweme *agreeable*	eȝhesihhþe *eyesight*	helle *hell*
bisne *example*		eȝȝe † *fear*	hellfe *handle*
bīte *morsel*		fæwe *few*	hellpe *help*

heoffne *heaven*
heore *their* (pron.)
heorrte *heart*
here *host*
hete, hĕte *hate*
hirrde *guardian*
hire *her*
hírne *corner*
hope *hope*
irre *ire*
karrte *cart*
kemmpe *champion*
kene *keen*
kide *kid*
kinde *kind* s.
kineriche *kingdom*
kirrke *church*
kirrkedure *church-door*
lade *guiding* s.
læche † *leech*
læfe *belief*
lare *lore*
láte, late † *appearance*
lattre *latter*
lawe *mound*
laȝhe † *law*
lefe *leave*
leode *people*
leome, leme *gleam*
leȝhe *wages*
lifisshe *living*
like *form*
líre † *loss*
liþe *lithe gentle*
loȝhe † *fire*
lufe *love*
macche, make, *mate, wife*
mæne † *company*
male † *tribute*
mare *more*
maȝȝstre *master*
maȝȝþe *tribe kin*
mede † *meed*
mele *meal*
merrke † *mark*
messe *mass*
mĕte *meat*
meȝhe *female cousin*
milde *mild*
mile † *mile*
millce *mercy*
minde † *mind*
minnstre † *minster*
missdede † *misdeed*
mone *moon*
name *name*
náþe † *grace*
neddre *adder*
nedle † *needle*
-nesse *-ness*
nesshe *soft*
orrmete *measureless*
orrtrowwe *distrustful*
orrtrowwþe *distrust*
oxe *ox*
pappe † *breast*
píne *pain*
profĕte *prophet*
resste *repose*
riche *kingdoms rich*
rime † *metre*
rode † *rood*
rote *root*
rume *wide*
rune *counsel*
sæte † *seat*
sahhte *concurring*
sake *dispute*
sallfe *salve*
sallme † *psalm*
same † *same*
sawle *soul*
scone *beauteous*
seollþe sellþe *happiness*
serrȝhe *sorrow*
sexe *six*
sexte *sixth*
sextene *sixteen*
shæþe † *sheath*
shaffte *creature*
shame *shame*
shande *disgrace*
shene *sheen* a.
shriffte *shrift*
sihhþe *sight*
siȝe † *victory*
smere *ointment*
smeþe *smooth*
soffte *soffte*
spæche *speech*
stĕde *stead place*
steffne *voice*
steorrne *star*
stirne *stern* a.
stoke † *stock*
stræte † *street*
strande † *strand*
strennceþe *strength*
sune *son*
sunne *sun*
sware † *answer* s. *grievous* a.
swepe *whip*
swiþe *great*
tále *tale number*
temmple *temple*
tende *tenth*
téne *ten, injury* s.
time *time*
tunge *tongue*
turrtle *turtle*
twinne *twin*
þeode *people*
þeȝȝre *their*
þraȝhe † *throw, time*
þridde *third*
þrinne *three*
þrittene *thirteen*
þrittennde *thirteenth*
þrowwinnge † *throe*
þurrfe *needful*
þusennde *thousand*
unnclene *unclean*
unncweme *unacceptable*
unnfæle *deceitful*
unnfæwe *not a few*
unnhæle † *unsoundness*
unnorne *plain*
unnride *vast*
unnsmeþe *uneven*
unnwine *enemy*
unnwræste *weak*
uppbrixle *object of reproach*
ure *our*
wæde *clothing*
wædle *poor*
wæte † *drink* s.
walde † *power*
wambe *belly*
wasstme *fruit*
waȝhe *wall*
wecche *watching* s.
wehhte † *weight*
wĕre were *man*
werre *worse*
wersse *worse*
wesste *waste desert* s. and a.
weȝȝe *way*
whæte *wheat*
wicke *mean weak wicked*
widdwe *widow*
wilde *wild*
wille *will*
wis, wise *wise* a.
wise *wise* s.
wite *prophet*
wite † *punishment*
witeȝhunnge *prophecy*
wiþþerrstrennceþe † *opposing power*
wlíte † *face*
wræche *vengeance*
wraþþe † *wrath* s.
wrecche *wretched*
wrihhte (1) *maker;* (2) *blame*
wude *wood* s.
wuke *week*
wulle † *wool*
wunde † *wound*
wurrþe † *worship*
wurrþshipe *worship*
ȝate *gate door*
ȝerrde † *yard rod*
ȝife *gift*
ȝure *your*

It will be found on examination that though many of the above *-e* are justified by the existence of some final vowel or syllable in Anglosaxon or Icelandic, not a few have been clearly subsequently developed. See supra, p. 345, note 2, and the Table, pp. 379-397.

2. LAȜAMON'S BRUT, BEGINNING OF XIII TH CENTURY.

Although Laȝamons Brut[1] is written in verse, yet the rhythm and orthography are so irregular that it is scarcely easier to conjecture the pronunciation than if it were mere prose. In fact with Orrmin we take leave of all certainty arising from metre or strict orthography. But the extraordinary diversity of spelling is of itself some assistance.

Weighing the results already obtained we cannot be very far wrong in supposing *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* to be (aa a, ee e, ii i, oo o, uu u), with the doubtful (*i*) or (y) for *u* occasionally as in *lut*, *lutel*, *luðere* (lit, lit·el, lidh·ere) few, little, wicked.[2] Again *æ* may be called (EE, E), and as *eo* interchanges with *e* it may be (ee) or (ee⌊o). *Ea* is rare and interchanges with *a*, so that it may be (ea) or even (eá) with a more distinct (a). Among the consonants ȝ, *h*, follow the same rule as in Orrmin, *ch* is of course (tsh), but (sh) does not seem to have been developed, as *sc* is constantly used.

On account of the extreme western locality of the author's residence (3½ miles south-east of Bewdley, in Worcestershire) there may have been many dialectic peculiarities which would tend to give the letters slightly different values from those thus assigned, but it seems probable that such a pronunciation as the following would have been intelligible.[3]

Laȝamon's Brut.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Madden's edition, vol. i. p. 124, v. 2922.	
Sixti winter hefde Leir ⁊	Siks·ti win·ter HEEV·de Lair
þis lond al to welden.	dhis lond al to-weld·en.
þe king hefde þreo dohtren ⁊	Dhe kiq HEEV·de threo dokht·ren
bi his drihliche quen.	bii HIS dri*kh*·litshe kween.
nefde he nenne sune ⁊	Neev·d HE nen·e suun·e,
þer fore he warð sari.	dheerfoor· HE wardh sar·i,
his manscipe to halden ⁊	HIS man·skiipe to hald·en,
buten þa þreo dohtren.	buut·en dha threo dokht·ren.

[1] Laȝamons Brut, or Chronicle of Britain; a poetical semi-saxon paraphrase of the Brut of Wace, now first published from the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum, accompanied by a literal translation, notes, and a grammatical glossary. By Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1847, 3 vols, royal 8vo. The Cottonian MSS. are Calig. A. ix, the older version, which is attributed to the beginning of the XIII th century at latest, and Otho. C. xiii, which is of a much later date.

[2] The forms litul, liðere also occur. It is quite possible that in such words both modes of speech (lut·el, lit·el) occurred in these Western dialects, see p. 298, p. 300 note 2, and p. 424.

[3] The many interesting points which would arise from a careful study of the dialectic peculiarities indicated by the orthography are of course passed over here, as the object is only to ascertain the phonetic meaning of the letters, which is an entirely preliminary investigation without which the other could not properly succeed, but which is quite independent of any other research.

þa ældeste dohter haihte Gornoille.	Dha ELD·este dokh·ter HAIkhte Gornuil·e,
þa oðer Regau.	dha oo·dher Reeg·au
þa þridde Cordoille.	dha thrid·e Korduil·e
Heo wes þa ȝungeste suster:	Heo wes dha JUq·este sus·ter,
a wliten alre uairest;	a lwii·ten al·re vair·est.
heo wes hire fader al swa leof:	Heo wes HIIR·e faa·der al swa leof
swa his aȝene lif.	swaa HIS aagh·ene liif.
þa ældede þe king:	Dhaa ELD·ede dhe kiq
& wakede an aðelan.	and waa·kede an aa·dhelan
& he hine bi-þohte:	and HEE HIIN·e bithokht·e
wet he don mahte.	whet HE doon makht·e
of his kineriche:	of his kin·eriitshe
æfter his deie.	EFT·er HIS dai·e.
He seide to himsuluen:	He said·e to him sel·ven,
þat þat vuel wes:	dhat· dhat iivel wes:
Ic wlle mine riche to-don:	Ik wil·e miin·e riitsh·e to-doon
& allen minen dohtren.	and allen miin·en dokht·ren,
& ȝeuen hem mine kine-þeode:	and JEEV·en HEM miin·e kin·e-theo·de
& twemen mine bearnen.	and tweem·en miin·e bearn·en,
Ac ærst ic wille fondien:	ak EERST ik wil·e fond·JEN
whulchere beo mi beste freond.	whilk·ere beo mi best·e freond,
and heo scal habbe þat beste del:	and HEO skal HAB·e dhat best·e deel
of mine drihlichen lon.	Of miin·e drikh·litshen loon. [deel
þus þe king þohte:	Dhus dhe kiq thokht·e
and þer æfter he worhte.	and dheeraft·er HE workht·e.

Sir F. Madden's translation of the above, omitting the parts relating to the more modern text.

Sixty winters had Leir	and he bethought him
this land 'all' to govern.	what he might do
The king had three daughters	with his kingdom,
by his noble queen;	after his day.
he had no son,—	He said to himself
therefore he was sorry,—	that that was evil:
his honor to hold,	"I will divide my realm
except the three daughters.	to 'all' my daughters,
The eldest daughter hight Gornoille,	'and give them my kingdom,
the second Regau,	and share among my children;'
the third Cordoille.	but first I will prove
She was the youngest 'sister,'	which is my best friend,
of beauty fairest of all;	and she shall have the best part
she was to her father as dear	of my lordly land."
as his own life!	Thus the king thought,
Then the king grew old,	and thereafter he wrought.
and weakened in strength,	

§ 3. *Prose Writings of the* XIII *th Century and Earlier.*

Here we have only the spelling to trust to, and to see whether the determination of the values of the letters by means of the poets is borne out by the systematic orthography of the prose writers. Very brief notices are all that need to be given.

1. Only English Proclamation of Henry III, 18 Oct. 1258.

This proclamation, issued by the barons in the king's name, has been fully considered in a separate work,[1] in which the pronunciation was assigned in accordance with the results at which I had then arrived,[2] but subsequent research has induced me slightly to alter my opinion on certain points. Considering that the document is formal, it seems probably that *ea*, *eo* had their full (éa, éo) sounds. It is even possible that *eow* may have been (éou) rather than (éu), but the constant practice of writing *ew* in *trewe* leads me to believe that the initial *eo* of this combination has to be read (e) simply. The occurrence of simple *ew*, however, casts some doubt upon this conclusion as respects the actual pronunciation of the scribe. There is probably little doubt that the more general pronunciation of *ea*, *eo*, at that time was (ee), and of *eow* (eu). The combination *oa* is rare. We have seen it rhyme with (aa) in Genesis and Exodus (p. 467), and the writer may have said (aa, *aa*, *aa*h), the last as an intermediate sound. As a compromise I use (*aa*, *a*). The interchange of *æ*, *e* in *rædesmen redesmen*, seems to imply that *æ* had become simple (ee, e). In accordance with former usage (ai) is employed for *ei*; but we must not fail to observe the correspondence of the French *Fiz Geffrey*, p. 504, with the English *Geffrees sune* p. 505, shewing that the pronunciation (Dzhef·ree·) was then current (suprà p. 462). The name *Aldithel'* in the English, p. 504, and *Auditheł'* in the French, p. 505, seems to be a contraction for the name *Aldidelege* in Staffordshire (Domesday Book, printed edition, fo. 250*b*, col. 2, photozincographed edition, *Staffordshire*, p. x. col. 2,) =*ald-ide-lege*, or ags. *eald yðа lega*, that is, *old-water-land*, compare Cædmon's *ea-stream-yðа*. Ide, still called (Iid) suprà p. 291, is in Devonshire (Domesday Book, fo. 101*b*, col. 2,) as also Ideford; Idehill is in Kent, Iden in Sussex. Hence the probable alteration of the name was (ald-ii·dha-lee·*g*ha, ald-ii·dhe-lai, auld-i-lai, aud-e-lai, AAD·lee, AAD·l*i*), compare *Audelay*, p. 449, n. 2, and the modern *Audley*. The other vowels and the consonants present no difficulty. The length of the vowels, where it differs in my scheme

[1] The only English Proclamation of Henry III, 18 October 1258, and its treatment by former editors and translators, considered and illustrated; to which are added editions of the Cuckoo Song and The Prisoner's Prayer, Lyrics of the XIIIth century, London, 1868, 8vo. pp. 135, by the author of this treatise.

[2] The error of supposing long *i* to have been occasionally (ai), see suprà p. 279, was not detected till after the book had been printed off, and is referred to in the errata. The use of Henr' .... send igretinge for sendeþ, is well illustrated by Prof. F. J. Child, suprà p. 354, art. 51.

from that assigned to Anglosaxon, will generally be found justified by the spelling of Orrmin, or by more recent usage. The quantity of the Anglosaxon short vowels seems to have frequently suffered in passing through the Norman period of repression, when the language ceased to be cultivated by men of letters.

The complete proclamation, with the French original, is here reproduced from the stereotype plates of the work cited in note 1, in order that the first correct presentation of this venerable and interesting document may be preserved for the use of the Early English Text Society. To insure accuracy, the proofs had been compared three times with the originals in the Public Record Office. A few very slight inaccuracies in the stereotype plates have been removed in this edition, after a fourth comparison. The bracketed numbers refer to the numbers of the lines in the original MSS.

The following is an abstract of the history of this important proclamation, the only public English document known to have been issued under our Norman kings. On account of the quarrels between Henry III. and his barons, the latter were summoned to Westminster 7 April, 1258, when Henry submitted himself to a Council of Twenty-four, twelve chosen by himself, and twelve by the Barons, or, as they called themselves, the Commons. This Council appointed a Committee of Four to choose a Cabinet of Fifteen. To this Council and Cabinet were due the provisions of Oxford, 11 June 1258, which ordered a Parliament consisting of the Fifteen, and Twelve Magnates to meet three times a year, and for the first time on 6 October 1258. At this Parliament the following Proclamation was agreed to, and issued in Latin, French, and English. The Latin version has not yet been found. There are two copies of the French, and one of the English in existence. The French version which follows contains the names of thirteen out of the Cabinet of Fifteen, and three from among the first appointed Twelve Parliamentary Magnates. The object of the Proclamation, was to make each man in the country take the oath already taken by the King and the Commons at Oxford, pledging him to obey the Council of Twenty-four, to assist it to the utmost of his power, and to oppose its enemies.

The English proclamation seems to have been published from the original by Somner 1659, Hearne 1720, Henshall 1798, the Record Commission (in its edition of Rymer's Fœdera 1816,) the Master of the Rolls (in Sir H. James' photozincographed National Manuscripts 1865), and, in part, by Astle 1803 (in facsimile), but in all cases incorrectly, and the errors made by these editors have increased in the hands of Tyrrel 1700, Lyttelton 1767, Henry 1781-93, Latham 1841, and Koch 1863, who followed Somner; and Craik 1851, who followed Rymer. Pauli 1853, and Regel 1856 (who is followed by Marsh 1862,) conjecturally, and on the whole satisfactorily, amended Rymer by means of the French version, which has been published by Rymer and Pauli only, but the latter merely transcribed the former, leaving a grievous blunder uncorrected. Some of the errors of these various editions are given on page 504.

OLD FRENCH VERSION.

Patent Roll, 42 *Henry* III. *m.* 1, *n.* 1.

[1] Henrí par la grace deu Rey de Englet're Sire de Irlande. Duc de Normandie de Aqui'en *et* Cunte de Angou. a tuz ſes feaus Clers et Lays saluz. Sachez ke nuſ uolons *et* otrions ke ce ke noſtre conseil [2] v la greignure partíe de eus kí est esluz par nuſ *et* par le co'mun de noſtre Reaume a fet v fera al honur de deu *et* noſtre feí *et* pur le p'fit de noſtre Reaume ſicum il ordenera ſ ſeit ferm *et* eſtable [3] en tutteſ choseſ a tuz íurz. Et comandons *et* enioínons a tuz noz feaus *et* leaus en la feí kil nus deíuent kil fermement teígnent *et* íurgent a tenír *et* a maíntenír les eſtabliſſemenz [4] ke ſunt fet v ſunt a fere par lauant dit Cunseil v la

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Modern English Translation of Old English Version.

[1] Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, of Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, sends greetings to all his lieges, clerical and lay, in Huntingdonshire. [2] That know ye well all, that we will and grant that that which our councillors, all or the greater part of them, that have been chosen by us, and by the people of the country of our kingdom, have done, and shall [3] do, to the glory of God, and in furtherance of our allegiance, for the benefit of the country, by the provision of the aforesaid councillors, be stedfast and lasting in all things ever without end. And we call upon [4] all our lieges in the allegiance that they owe us, that they stedfastly hold and swear to hold and to defend the acts that have been passed, or shall be passed by the aforesaid councillors, [5] or by the

OLD ENGLISH VERSION.

Patent Roll, 43 *Henry III. m.* 15., *n.* 40

[1] ¶ Henr' þurȝ godeſ fultume kıng on Engleneloande. Lhoauerd on Ȳrloand'. Duk on Norm' on Aquıtaın' and eorl on Anıow Send ıgretınge to alle hıſe holde ılærde and ıleawede on Huntendon'ſchır' [2] þæt wıten ȝe wel alle þæt *we* wıllen and vnne*n* þæt. þæt vre rædeſmen alle oþer þe moare dæl of heom þæt beoþ ıchoſen þurȝ uſ and þurȝ þæt loandeſ folk on vre kuneriche. habbeþ ıdon and ſchulle*n* [3] don ín þe worþneſſe of gode and on vre treowþe. for þe freme of þe loande. þurȝ þe beſiȝte of þan to forenıſeıde redeſmen :' beo ſtedefæſt and ıleſtınde ín alle þínge abuten ænde. And we hoaten [4] alle vre treowe ín þe treowþe þæt heo vſ oȝen. þæt heo ſtedefæſtlıche healden and ſweríen to healden and to weríen þo ıſetneſſeſ þæt beon ímakede and beon to makıen þurȝ þan to foren ıſeıde rædeſmen [5] oþer þurȝ þe

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Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.

[1] Hen·rii thurkh God·es ful·tume kiq on Eq·lenel*an*·de, lh*av*·erd on Iir·l*an*de, Dyyk on Normandii, on Akitain·e and eorl on Andzhuu·, send igreet·iqe to al·e his·e hold·e ileer·de and ilee·wede on Hun·tendooneshii·re. [2] Dhet wii·ten je wel al·e, dhet we wil·en and un·en dhet, dhet uu·re ree·desmen al·e odh·er dhe m*aa*·re deel of heom, dhet beoth itshoo·sen thurkh us, and thurkh dhet l*an*d·es folk on uu·re kin·eriitshe, hab·eth idoon· and shul·en [3] doon, in dhe worth·nese of God·e and on uu·re treuth·e, for dhe free·me of dhe l*an*d·e, thurkh dhe besi*k*h·te of than to foo·renisaide ree·desmen, beo stee·defest and iles·tinde in al·e thiq·e abuut·en en·de. And we h*aa*·ten [4] al·e uu·re treu·e in dhe treuth·e dhet heo us oogh·en, dhet heo stee·defestliitshe heald·en and swee·rien to heald·en and to weer·ien dho iset·neses dhet beon imaa·kede and beon to maak·ien thurkh dhan to foo·ren isaid·e ree·desmen, [5] odh·er thurkh dhe

Old French Version.—(Continued.)

greígnure partíe de eus. en la maníere kıl est dıt deſuz. *et* kıl ſentreeıdent a ce fere par meıſmes tel s'ment cunt' tutte genz [5] dreıt feſant et p'nant. *et* ke nul ne preıgne de t're ne de moeble par queí ceſte purueance puiſſe eſtre deſturbee v empıree en nule manere. *et* ſe nul v nus vıegnent encunt' ceſte chose [6] nuſ uolons *et* comandons ke tuz noſ feaus *et* leaus le teígnent a enemí mortel. *et* pur ce ke nus volons ke ceste chose ſeıt ferme *et* eſtable: noſ enueons noſ lettres ou'tes ſeelees de n're [7] seel en cheſcun Cunte a demorer la entreſor. Tesmoín Meímeıſmes a Londres le Dıſutíme Iur de Octobre lan de noſtre regne Q'raunte ſecund. Et ceſte chose fu fete deuant Boneface Arce[8]eueske de Cantrebur'. Gaut' de Cantelou. Eueske de Wẏreceſtr'. Símo*n* de Montfort. Cunte de Leẏceſtr'. Rıchard de Clare Cunte de Glouceſtr' *et* de Hertford. Rog'

Modern English Translation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

greater part of them, as it has been before said. And that each help the other so to do by that same oath, against all men, doing and receiving justice. And let no man take any land or [6] chattel, whereby this provision may be let or impaired in any wise. And if any person or persons oppose this provision, we will and enjoin that all our lieges hold them as mortal enemies. And because [7] we will that this should be stedfast and lasting, we send you this letter patent signed with our seal, to hold among you in the treasury. Witnesses ourselves at London, the eighteenth day of the month [8] of October, in the two and fortieth year of our reign. And this was done in the presence of our sworn councillors, Boneface, archbishop of Canterbury; Walter of Cantelow, bishop of Worcester; [9] Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester; Richard of Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford; Roger

Old English Version.—(Continued.)

moare dæl of heom alſwo alſe hít ıſ bíforen ıſeıd. And þæt æhc oþer helpe þæt for to done bí þan ılche oþe aȝeneſ alle men. Rıȝt for to done and to foangen. And noan ne níme of loande ne of [6] eȝte. wherþurȝ þıſ beſıȝte muȝe beon ılet oþer ıwerſed on oníe wıſe. And ȝıf oní oþer oníe cumen her onȝeneſ: we wıllen and *hoaten* þæt alle vre treowe heom healden deadlıche ıfoan. And for þæt [7] we wıllen þæt þıſ beo ſtedefæſt and leſtınde: we ſenden ȝew þıſ wrít open ıſeíned wıþ vre ſeel. to halden a mangeſ ȝew ínehord. Wítneſſe vſ ſeluen æt Lunden'. þane Eȝtetenþe day. on þe Monþe [8] of Octobr' In þe Twoandfowertıȝþe ȝeare of vre cruníngе. And þıſ weſ ıdon ætforen vre ıſworene redeſmen. Bonefac' Archebıſchop on Kant'-bur'. Walt' of Cantelow. Bıſchop on Wırecheſtr'. [9] Sım' of Muntfort. Eorl on Leırcheſtr'. Rıc' of Clar' eorl on Glowchestr' and on Hurtford.' Rog'

Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

m*aa*·re deel of Heom al·swo als·e Hit iz bifoo·ren isaid·. And dhet eetsh oodh·er Help·e dhet for to doon·e bii dhaan il·tshe ooth·e aJee·nes al·e men, ri*k*ht for to doon·e and to f*a*q·en. And n*aa*n ne nii·me of l*a*nd·e ne of [6] e*k*ht·e, wheerthurkh· dhis besi*k*ht·e muugh·e beon ilet· odh·er iwers·ed on on·ie wiise. And Jif on·i odh·er on·ie kuum·en Heer onJee·nes, we wil·en and H*aa*·ten dhet al·e uu·re treu·e Heom Heald·en dead·litshe if*aa*n· And for dhet [7] we wil·en dhet dhis beo stee·defest and lest·inde, we send·en Jeu dhis r*w*it oop·en isain·ed with uu·re seel, to Hald·en amaq·es Jeu in·e Hoord. Wıt·nese us selv·en et Lun·deene, dhaan·e e*k*ht·etenthe dai, on dhe moonth·e [8] of Oktoo·ber in dhe twoo and foour·ti*k*hthe Jear·e of uu·re kruun·iqe. And dhis wes idoon· etfoo·ren uu·reiswoo·rene ree·desmen, Bon·efaase, Ar·tshebish·op on Kan·-terber·i; Walt·er of Kan·teloou, bish·op on Wii·retshester; [9] Sii·moon of Munt·fort, eorl on Lair·tshester; Rii·tshard of Klaa·re, eorl on Gloou·tshester and on Hert·ford; Rodzh·er

Old French Version.—(Continued.)

le Bigod Cunte de [9] Norf' *et* Mareſchal de Englet're Humfrey de Bohun Cunte de Hereford. Piere de Saueye. Guilame de forz. Cunte de Aubemarle. Iohan de Plesseiz Cunte de Warrewyk'. Rog' de Quency [10] Cunte de Wynceſtr'. Iohan le Fiz Geffrey. Piere de Muntfort. Richard de Grey Rog' de Mortemer Iames de Audithel. *et* Hug' le Despens'.

Modern English Translation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

Bigod, earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England: Peter of Savoy; William de Fort, earl of Albemarle; [10] John de Plessis, earl of Warwick; John Fitz Geoffrey; Peter de Montfort; Richard de Grey; Roger de Mortimer; James Audley, and in the presence of other kinsmen.

[11] And in exactly the same words it has been sent into every other shire throughout the kingdom of England and also in till Ireland.

Principal errors of former editions. Only such blunders are here given as make nonsense of the original. The numbers refer to the lines of the MS., the spaced letters to the original, and the italics to the errors.

S e n d i g r e t i n g e 1, Tyrrel, Henry, Latham: *send I greting.*

h o l d e i l æ r d e 1, Henshall: *hol theilaerde.*

f r e m e 3, Somner: *freine;* Henshall *freime.*

i l c h e o þ e 5, Tyrrel, Henry, Lyttelton: *ilche other.*

R i ȝ t 5, Somner: (*in alle þinge þæt*) *ogt;* Tyrrel: (*in all thinge thæt*) *ogt;* Henry, Lyttelton: *in alle thet heo ogt;* Craik: [*in alle thaet heo*] *oght.*

n o a n n e n i m e o f 5, Somner, Tyrrel, Henry, Henshall, Rymer, Craik: *noan ne mine of;* Latham: *noan ne of mine.*

e ȝ t e. w h e r þ u r ȝ 6, Somner: *egtewhær þurg*; Tyrrel, Henry: *egetewher thurg;* Latham: *egetewhere, thurg*; Henshall: *egte-whær, thurg;* Rymer: *egteohæro þurg*; Craik: *eghteohæro, thurg.*

d e a d l i c h e i f o a n 6, Somner, Tyrrel, Henry, Latham, Rymer, Craik: *deadlicheistan;;* Henshall: *deadliche. If than.*

In consequence of these errors the translations given by Somner,

Old English Version.—(Continued.)

Bigod eorl on Northfolk' and Mareſcal on Engleneloand.' Perreſ of Sauueye. Will' of Fort eorl on Aubem'. [10] Ioh' of Pleſſeiz. eorl on Warewik Ioh' Geffreeſ ſune. Perreſ of Muntfort. Ric' of Grey. Rog' of Mortemer. Iameſ of Aldithel' and ætforen oþre moȝe.

[11] ¶ And al on þo ilche worden iſ iſend ín to æurihce oþre shcíre ouer al þære kuneriche on Engleneloande. and ek ín tel Irelonde.

Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

Bii·god, eorl on North·folke and Maa·reskal on Eq·lenel*a*nd·e. Per·es of Savai·e; Wil·helm of Fort, eorl on Au·bemarle; [10] Dzhoon of Ples·aiz, eorl on Waa·rewiike; Dzhoon Dzhef·rees suun·e; Per·es of Munt·fort; Rii·tshard of Grai; Rodzh·er of Mor·temer; Dzhaam·ez of Al·dithel, and etfoo·ren oodh·re moogh·e

[11] And al on dho il·tshe word·en is isend· in to ev·ritshe oodh·re shii·re oo·ver al dhee·re kin·eriitshe on Eq·lenel*a*nde, and eek in til Iir·l*a*nde.

Henry, Latham, and Craik of the passage: And þæt æhc oþer helpe .... deadliche ifoan, 5, 6, are ludicrously wrong.

Somner's Latin version is: "Et quod unusquisque, vigore ejusdem juramenti, contra omnes homines, in omnibus tum faciendis, tum recipiendis, ut id ita fiat et observetur, alter alteri sint auxilio. Et (quod) nullus sive de terrâ (vel, gente) meâ, sive quacunque aliâ, per consilium hujusmodi (hujus scil. consilii obeundi causâ) impediatur, sive damnum patiatur, ullo modo. Et si quis, sive vir sive fœmina, huic (edicto) contravenerit, volumus et mandamus ut omnes fideles nostri eos habeant infensissimos."

Craik's English version is: "And that each other help that for to do, by them (to) each other against all men (in all that they) ought for to do and to promote. And none, nor of my land nor elsewhere, through this business may be let (hindered) or damaged in anywise. And if any man or any woman come them against, we will and enjoin that all our lieges them hold deadly foes."

The most remarkable error in the copy of the French version printed in Rymer is: *nos Giueons*, for nos enueons 6, which has the false appearance of an appropriation of a Saxon word by the Normans, with a French inflexion,—a philological curiosity!

2. ANCREN RIWLE, XIII TH CENTURY.

The ANCREN RIWLE and the HALI MEIDENHAD may be considered together.[1]

In the ANCREN RIWLE it will be seen that the simple vowels *a, e, i, o, u* must be taken as usual to mean (aa a, ee e, ii i, oo o, uu u), with a much larger allowance of *u* = (y) or (i, e) than is found, except in the west of England. Thus we have *gult, cluppen, fustes, fur, lupes, lut, nule*, for guilt, clip (embrace), fists, fire, lips, little, n'ill. Besides this there is a very extensive assortment of diphthongs and even triphthongs, which should be apparently pronounced thus: *ai, au, ea, ei, eo, eu, oa, oi, ou, ui* = (ai, au, eea ea, ai, eeo eo, eu, ooa, uui, oou ou, ui). The *oa, oi, ui* as in *bloawen bloamen buine* are too rare to form a good judgment on.

The combination *iw* which only occurs in the foreign word *riwl* is most probably intended to give the sound (yy), for it is scarcely possible to imagine that (yy) could not have been pronounced, and that therefore *iw* = (iu).[2] On account of the action of the (r) the sound (riul) is difficult to enunciate purely, and (ruul, ryyl, rııl) are all easier, and they are consequently still in use provincially.

The following brief example from p. 70 of the Ancren Riwle,[3] will shew the effect of these assumptions, and will render an example from Hali Meidenhad needless:

Original Text.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Muche fol he were, þe muhte, to his owene bihoue, hweðer se he wolde, grinden greot oþer hwete, ȝif he grunde þet greot *and* lefde þene hwete. Hwete is holi speche, ase Seint Anselme seiðð. Heo grint greot ðe chefleð. Þe two cheoken beoð þe two grinstones. Þe tunge is þe cleppe. Lokeð, leoue sustren, *þet* ouwer cheoken ne grinden neuer	Mutsh·e fool HEE weer·e, dhe mukht·e, to HIS oou·ene biHOO·ve, whedh·er see HE wold·e, grind·en greeot oo·dher wheet·e, ȝif HE grund·e dhet greeot and leev·de dheen·e wheet·e. Wheet·e is HOOL·i speetsh·e, as·e Saint Anselm·e saith. Heeo grint greeot dhe tsheef·leth. Dhe twoo tsheek·en beoth dhe twoo grin·stoon·es.[4] Dhe tuq·e is the klep·e. Look·eth, leo·ve sustren, dhet oou·er tsheok·en ne grind·en nev·er

[1] The *Ancren Riwle;* a treatise on the Rules and Duties of Monastic Life, edited and translated from a Semi-Saxon MS. of the thirteenth century by James Morton, B.D., vicar of Holbeach, prebendary of Lincoln; printed for the Camden Society, 1853, London, 4to. *Hali Meidenhad*, from MS. Cott. Titus D. xviii, fol. 112 c., an alliterative homily of the thirteenth century, edited by Oswald Cockayne, M.A., London, 1866, 8vo. pp. viii, 50; E. E. T. S.

[2] As the combination *iw* does not occur in other words, and as *riule, reule* are found in very old Norman, the point must be considered doubtful. In the XIV th century the sound was almost certainly (ryy·le). Mr. Payne is inclined to think that the old Norman sound was (riú·le).

[3] The proof was read by Mr. Brock by the original MS., Cott. Nero A. xiv.

[4] The "colloquial" pronunciation (grin·stən), mentioned by Smart, is thus shewn to be very ancient, and becomes a proof that *grind* was formerly (grind) not (greind), suprà p. 276, and p. 290, l. 3.

bute soule uode ⁊ ne our earen ne hercnen neuer bute soule heale : *and* nout one our earen, auh ower eie þurles tune ȝ aȝein idel speche ⁊ *þet* to ou ne cume no tale, ne tiðinge of þe worlde.

buut·e sooul·e vood·e; ne oour ea·ren ne Herk·nen nev·er buut·e sooul·e Heal·e; and nout oon·e oour eea·ren, aukh oou·er ai·e thirl·es tuun·eth aȝain· ii·del speetsh·e; dhet to oou ne kuum·e ne taal·e ne tiidh·iqe of dhe worlde.

Verbal Translation.

Much fool he were, that might, to his own behoof, whether so he would, grind chaff (grits) or wheat, if he ground the chaff and left the wheat. Wheat is holy speech, as Saint Anselm saith. She grinds chaff that chaffs (chatters). The two cheeks are the two grindstones. The tongue is the clapper. Look, dear sisters, that your cheeks do not grind never but soul's food; nor your ears do not harken never but to soul's health; and not only your ears, but your eye's windows fence against idle speech; (so) that to you (may) not come neither tale nor tiding of the world.

3. Old English Homilies, xii th Century.

The venerable homilies lately disinterred by Mr. Morris[1] cannot be read in any other way than the Ancren Riwle. The values of all the letters and combinations seem to be completely known, and no further change can be expected. A very brief example will therefore suffice. In the following, the original text is exactly reproduced except in (1)*mid* for *miȝ*, (2)*wolde* for *walde*, (3)*gaȝ* for *gad*, (4)*doȝ* for *deȝ*, (5)*bulke* for *buke*. The *leinten* for *lenten* at the beginning, may, as so many other evidently are, be a dialectic pronunciation, and is comparable with *fleish* for *flesh* (suprà p. 473, n. 1), but Stratmann quotes the same form from Wright, Vocab. 90, Rob. Glouc. 187, 8. The experiment of writing (y) for *u*, when it may be (i, e), and (ei) for *ei*, as being older forms, has here been made.

Original Text, p. 25.

Dominica Prima in Quadrigesima.

[I]n leinten time uwilc mon gaȝ to scrifte ; þer beoȝ summe þe mare herm is þe gaȝ al swa ic nuþe eow tellen wulle. He seiȝ mid(1) þa muȝe þet nis naut in his heorte. ic wulle gan to scrifte for scome alswa doȝ oȝer men. ȝif ic forlete þe preost me wolde(2) eskien on ester dei hwa me scriue er he me ȝefe husul *and* ec for monne weordes ðinge. he ne gaȝ(3) naut to scrifte al swa doȝ oȝer men.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

First Sunday in Lent.

In lein·ten tii·me y·wilk mon gaath to skrift·e. Dher beoth sum·e, dhe maa·re Herm is dhe gaath, alswaa· ik nuu·dhe Jou tel·en wyl·e. He saith mid dha muu·dhe, dhet nis naut in His Heorte: "Ik wyl·e gaan to skrif·te for skoo·me alswaa· dooth oo·dher men; Jif ik forlee·te, dhe preost me wol·de es·kien on eest·er dai whaa me skrii·ve, eer Hee me Jee·ve Hus·ul, and eek for mon·e weor·des thiq·e." Hee no gaath naut to skrifte alswaa· dooth oo·dher men.

[1] In the same work with the *Moral Ode*, suprà p. 484, note 1.

Ah al swa he doð[4] swa þe swica þe biswikeð hine seolfe on ende *and* bið al swa is an eppel iheoweð. he bið wiðuten feire *and* frakel wiðinne. Awah þet he efre wulle þristelechen oðer biþenchen mid his fule heorte þe heo wulle underfon swa heȝ þing *and* swa hali swa is cristes licome in his sunfulle bulke.[5] *and* weneð *þet* hit wulle him helpen? Neisoðliche nawiht ah þenne þe preost hit deð in his muþe. þenne cumeð drihtenes engel and binimeð þa halinesse mid him toward heouene riche. þet þer bilefð in his muðe, ah ȝif eni mon hit muste iscan. he mahte iscon ane berninde glede *þet* hine al for-bernað þurut to cole.

Akh alswaa· HE dooth, swaa dhe swiik·a dhee biswii·keth HIIN·e seol·fe on end·e, and biith alswaa· is an ep·el iheo·weth; HEE biith withuu·ten fai·re, and frak·el within·e. Awakh·, dhet HE ev·re wyl·e thris·teletsh·en odh·er bithen·tshen mid HIS fuu·le HEOR·te, dhee HEO wyl·e un·derfoon swaa HEI thiq and swaa HAA·li, swaa is Krist·es liic·oome in HIS syn·fule bulk·e, and ween·eth dhet HIT wyl·e HIM HELPEN! Nei, sooth·liithshe naawikht! akh dhen·e dhe preost HIT deeth in HIS muu·the, dhen·e kuu·meth drikhtenes eq·el, and binii·meth dha HAA·lines·e mid HIM toward· HEO·vene rii·tshe. Dhet dher bilefth· in HIS muu·the, akh ȝif en·i mon HIT mus·te isee·an, HE makh·te isee·on aa·ne bern·ind·e gleed·e, dhet HII·ne al forbern·eth thuruut· to koole.

Mr. Morris's Translation, p. 24.

In Lenten time each man goes to confession; there are some to whom there is greater harm in going (than in abstaining), as I will now tell you. He saith with the mouth what is not in his heart. "I will go to shrift for shame, as other men do; if I neglect the priest will ask me on Easter day who shrove me, before he administer to me the sacrament, and also for the sake of man's esteem." He does not go to shrift as other [good] men do, but acts like the cheat who at last deceiveth himself, and is as a rosy apple—fair without and rotten within. Alas that he will ever dare or think with his foul heart to receive so high and so holy a thing as is Christ's flesh into his sinful body, and thinketh that it will help him. Nay truly not! but when the priest putteth it in his mouth, then cometh the Lord's angel and taketh the holiness with him toward heaven-kingdom. As for what remaineth there in his mouth, if any man were able to perceive it, he might see a burning gleed that consumes him all to coals.

§ 4. *Teutonic and Scandinavian Sources of the English Language.*

The pronunciation of English has now been traced up to the earliest period in which it is known in a literary form as distinct from Anglosaxon. To complete the edifice, some account must be attempted of the pronunciation of Anglosaxon, the direct mother, and Old Norse, an important modifier of our tongue. These again point to Gothic as the oldest low German dialect that is known. It would be highly desirable to add an account of Old Norman, but no

sufficient researches have been made into that language to warrant any detailed statement of the pronunciation of that language. It must be therefore entirely passed over.[1]

[1] See the observations on p. 438, and the remarks on Norman *ai*, *ei*, p. 453. Dr. Rapp, while owning that the decyphering of the phonetic meaning of Northern and Old French documents was one of the most difficult parts of his task, has yet ventured to assign such definite values to the symbols as to give detailed specimens, which he has not attempted for Anglosaxon and Old Norse. Although I am far from agreeing with his results, which appear to be founded upon insufficient examination of the sources of information, the reader will probably be pleased to have a brief account of his opinions, Phys. d. Spr. ii, 82–117. The following seems to be his alphabet: A aa a, AI ee, AU au, B b, C k s sh, CH sh, D d, E *ee* e ə *ə*, EI *ei*, EU œ *ey*, G g zh, H н, I ii, i, J zh, K k, L l, M m, N n, [AN aq, EN eq, IN iq, ON oq, UN yq, AIN EIN eq, OIN oiq, UIN uiq,] O *oo o* o, Œ œ, OI oi, OU u əu, P p, Q k, R r, S s, T t, [-NT -n, -q], U y œ, UI úi, V v, X u s us ks, Y i, Z s ts. The following is a small portion of his example taken from *Etienne Barbazan*, Fabliaux et Contes des Poétes françois des XI, XII, XIII, XIV et XV siècles, 1808, 8vo. 4 vols., vol. 1, p. 82, the original text, which Rapp omits, is here added by way of comparison. As I have not been quite able to appreciate his system of accentuation, I omit it altogether. I have also forborne to correct any apparent errors, such as making *meisme* v. 35, of two, instead of three syllables.

Du Chevalier, qui ooit la Messe et Notre-Dame estoit pour lui au tournoiement.

Extrait d'un MS. de Sorbonne No. 331 (2).

Dous Jhesus, com cil bel guerroie,
Et come noblement tournoie,
Qui volentiers au monstier tourne,
Où l'en le saint servise atourne 4
Et celebre le saint mistere
Du doux Fils de la Vierge Mere.
Pour ce vueil un conte retraire,
Si com le truis en exemplaire. 8
Un Chevalier courtois et sages,
Hardis et de grant vasselages,
Nus mieudres en Chevalerie,
Moult amoit la Vierge Marie. 12
Pour son barnage demener
Et son franc cors d'armes pener,
Aloit à son tournoiement,
Garnis de son contenement. 16
Au Dieu plesir ainsi avint,
Que quant le jour du tournoi vint,
Il se hastoit de chevauchier:
Bien vousist etre en champ premier 20
D'une église qui près estoit
Oï les sains que l'on sonoit
Pour la sainte Messe chanter.
Le Chevalier sans arrester 24
S'en est alé droit à l'église
Pour escouter le Dieu servise,
L'en chantoit tantost hautement
Une Messe dévotement 28
De la sainte Vierge Marie,
Puis a on autre comencie,

Dy shevalieer, ki o,oit la mese e
nətrə damə estoit puur lui au
turnoiəmeq.

Duus Zhesys, kom shil bel geroiə
E komə nobləmeq turnoiə
Ki voleqtiers au monstier turnə,
Uu l- eq lə seq servis- aturnə
E shelebrə lə seq misterə
Dy duus Fils de la Vierzhe Merə,
Puur she vœlɹ yq koqtə retreerə,
Si kom lə truis en eseqpleerə.—
Yq shevalier kurtois e sazhəs,
Hardiis e de graq vaselazhəs,
Nyys miéudres eq shevaləriiə,
Mult amoit la Vierzhə Mariiə
Puur soq barnazhə demeneer
E soq fraqk koors d- arməs peneer
Aloit a soq turnoiəmeq
Garnis de soq koqtenəmeq
Au Diœ plesiir eqsi aviq.
Ke kaq lə zhuur dy turnoi viq,
Il se hastoit de shevaushieer;
Bieq vusit estr- eq shaq premieer.
D- yn- eglisə ki prest estoit,
O,ii los seqs ke l- oq sonoit,
Puur la seqtə mesə shaqteer.
Lə shevalieer saqs arresteer
S- en est alee droit a l- eglisə
Puur eskuteer lə Diœ servisə;
L- eq shaqtoit taqtəst hautəmeq
Ynə mesə devotəmeq
De la seqtə Vierzhə Mariiə:
Puis a on autrə komeqshiiə,

1. ANGLOSAXON.

The value of the letters in Anglosaxon proper could not have materially differed from that which the whole of the preceding investigations has led us to assume for the letters used in the earlier part of the XIIIth and close of the XIIth century. The most remarkable difference was the vowel *y*, manifestly (yy, y), which however had become interchangeable with *i*, and therefore equivalent to (ii, i) or (*ii*, *i*) before the inflectional system of the Anglosaxon literature had disappeared. The vowel *æ* we may also assume to have had its deeper sound, now again familiar in England (ææ, æ). It is very probable that *a* was sounded fully as broad as (*aa*, *a*), but *e* was probably not so broad as (EE E) because it would have been otherwise confused with (ææ, æ). That short *i* was (*i*), from the Saxon times to the present day, there can be very little doubt, although, from having no direct authority for this conclusion, I have generally written it (i) before the XIVth century. But we

Le Chevalier bien l'escouta,		L*ə* sh*ə*vali*ə*r bieq l- eskuta,
De bon cuer la Dame pria.	32	D*ə* boq kœr la damə pria.
Et quant la Messe fut finée,		*E* kaq la mesə fy*t* fin*ə*ə
La tierce fu recomenciée		La tiershə fy rek*o*meqshi*ə*ə
Tantost en ce meisme lieu.		Tant*ə*st eq sh*ə* meesmə liœ.
Sire, pour la sainte char de Dieu,	36	Siir, pur la seqtə shar d*ə* Diœœ,
Ce li a dit son Escuier,		Sh*ə* li a dit son escui*ə*r,
L'heure passe de tournoier,		L- œrə pasə d*ə* turnoi*ə*r,
Et vous que demourez ici ?		*E* vus k*ə*e d*ə*mur*ə*ə ishii ?
Venez vous en, je vous en pri,	40	V*ə*nees vus eq, zh*ə* vus eq prii,
Volez vous devenir hermite,		Vol*ə*ə vus d*ə*v*ə*uiir ʜermitə,
Ou papelart, ou ypocrite ?		U pəpelart u ipokritə ?
Alons-en à nostre mestier.		Aloqs eq a nostrə m*ə*sti*ə*r.
Amis, ce dist li Chevalier,	44	Amiis, sh*ə* dist li sh*ə*vali*ə*r,
Cil tournoie moult noblement,		Shil turnoiə mult noblə*ə*meq
Qui le servise Dieu entent,		Ki l*ə* servisə Diœ eqteq ;
Quant les Messes seront trestoutes		Kaq ləs mesəs s*ə*roq trestut*ə*s
Dittes, s'en irons à nos routes :	48	Dit*ə*s, s- *ə*n iroqs a nos rut*ə*s ;
Se Dieu plest, ains n'en partirai,		S*ə* Diœœ pl*ə*st, eqs n- eq partir*ə*e,
Et puis au Dieu plesir irai		*E* puis a Diœ pl*ə*sir iree
Tournoier viguereusement ;		Turnoi*ə*r vigœrœsəmeq ;
De ce ne tint parlement.	52	D*ə* shə n*ə* tiq parləmeq.
Devers l'autel sa chiere tourne,		D*ə*vers l- autel sa shierə turnə,
En saintes oroisons séjourne		Eq seqtəs *o*roisoqs s*ə*zhurnə
Tant que toutes chantées furent,		Taq k*ə* tutəs shaqt*ə*ə*s* fyrə,
Puis monterent, com fere durent,	56	Puis moqterə, kom ferə dyrə,
Et chevauchierent vers le leu		*E* sh*ə*vaushierə vers l*ə* lœœ
Ou fere devoient leur geu.		Uu ferə d*ə*voiə lœr zhœœ.

GLOSSAIRE.

3. monstier, *monastère*
8. truis, *trouve*
11. mieudres, *meilleur*
13. barnage, *courage, force, valeur, noblesse*
14. pener, *tourmenter*
16. contenement, *état*
22. sains, *cloches.*
26. le Dieu servise, *le service de Dieu*
30. puis, *on en a une autre commencée*
39. que, *pourquoi demeurez-vous ici ?*
42. papelart, *faux dévot*
43. alons-en, *allons nous-en*
48. s'en irons, *si nous, et nous nous en irons*
55. tant que, *jusqu'à ce que.*

find (*i*) or even (*e*), so rooted in the North of Europe at the present day, among not merely the English, but the Scotch, Dutch, Danes, and Swedes, and above all, the Icelanders, who acknowledge it orthographically, that it presents the appearance of an original sound, rather than of a modern development. The *o* was almost certainly (oo o); the distinction (*oo* ɔ) is quite of modern growth, nor have we been led to suppose that there was any equivalent distinction from the XVI th century upwards. The *u* was perhaps (*uu u*) rather than (uu u) or (uu *u*), the modern use.

The digraphs *ea*, *eo* could scarcely have been (ɹa, ɹo) as Rask supposes, being misled apparently by modern Scandinavian usage. The confusions of *ea* with *æ* on the one hand, and *a* on the other, even in Anglosaxon, and its further confusion with *e* in more recent times, as the XIII th century, exclude the sound of (ɹ) with certainty.[1] And similarly for (eo). But it is possible that they were occasionally pronounced with the second element more conspicuous than the first, so that though we may generally write (ea, eo), as true diphthongs, in the ordinary manner, it may be occasionally necessary to indicate the preponderance of the second element by writing (éá, eó) or perhaps more truly (eaa, eoo) which might fall into (aa, oo, uu). On examining the long list of Anglosaxon words commencing with *ea eo*, the following are all that I have noticed which could give rise to the notion of the pronunciation (ɹa ɹo), which Rask seems to have adopted through his own Scandinavian habits: *ealo* ale, vulgar (ɹel, ɹəl): *Eoforwic*, in Domesday *Eurvic*, York, with the secondary form *Eferwic; eond* yond, the proper form being *geond*, *eow* you; *eowu* ewe, dialectic (ɹoo). Remembering how recently the sounds (w, ɹ) have been prefixed to the English *one*, Scotch *ane* (wən, ɹen), we can find no difficulty with these words. The Icelandic *Jarl*, which many persons rely upon for proving that ags. *eorl* must have been (ɹorl), was perhaps a derivative of *ar* the hearth, and was anciently applied to an upper domestic, whereas the ags. word was probably connected with the old Saxon *erl*, constantly used for *male*, *man*, and in the plural *erlos*, and compound *erlscepi* for *men*, *people*, collectively (Schmeller's *Heliand*, Gloss. p. 29). Hence the effect of palatisation can alone be relied on in support of this (ɹ) theory.

Now the palatisation of a preceding *c* (k) into (*k*) would be produced by the simple action of the palatal (e) and would not require that that (e) should be squeezed into (i, ɹ). Indeed, we have observed a tendency to palatisation in French and English before (a) sounds, which in French produced (kj, tsh, sh) (p. 53), but in English after flourishing for a little time as (ki, kɹ, kiɹ) and still dragging out an obscure existence in a fast disappearing generation, or on the boards of second-rate theatres, (p. 206), is rapidly going out of use and favour.[2] In modern French, too, both (kj) and (gj) are used with-

[1] The isolated identification of *ea* with (ɹe) in certain words, by Salesbury, we have seen reason to suppose was a misprint, p. 80.

[2] It is strongly marked in the dialects of the Peak of Derbyshire.

out any tendency to becoming (sh, zh) as in *queue*, *gueux* (kjœ, gjœ). Icelandic is a conspicuous example of the same, as k, g are there always palatised into (kj, gj) before (aa*i*, ee, *ei*, *i*, i, J) without having the least tendency to become (tsh, dzh). The (k) itself is naturally an unstable letter; either the tongue has a tendency to rise, producing (kj), or the lips a tendency to round, producing (k*w*), and from these physiological actions can be traced a vast variety of changes in time and place. The same remarks apply also to (g) and to (kh, gh). A proper understanding of the relations, palatal (k, kj, tj, tsh, sh), and (kh, kjh, JH, J, i), labial (k, K, k*w*, w, b, p) and (kh, KH, k*w*h, wh, f) will serve to solve numerous riddles in comparative philology. Not only does, however, a palatal vowel by direct action, or occasionally a guttural vowel by contrary action, tend to palatalize a consonant, but also the presence of the liquids (l, m, n, r) produces the same effect in the Germanic languages, as we have already had occasion to observe (p. 205). It is curious to note how certain words, however, resist palatalization, while their fellows readily succumb to the influence, as in *drink drench*. The resistance to palatization is not purely Scotch. We find *werchen* in the PRISONER'S PRAYER, v. 41, and *werch* often in Chaucer, but we constantly find *werk*. In the ANCREN RIWLE, while *k* had yielded to (tsh) by itself, *sc* had not become (sh), as in Italy and Germany, and as generally in England at that time, and the modern *shot scot*, ags. sceat, shews both the palatized and unpalatalized form of the same word still current. Again although *cealc* is now *chalk* (*k*eâlk, tshAAk), and *ceap* is *cheap* (*k*éap, tsheep, tshiip), *ceald*, *cealf* are *cold*, *calf*[1] (*ke*âld, k*aa*ld, koold, koould, k*oo*ld; *k*eâlf, k*aa*lf, kaaulf, kauf, kaaf), and if *cicen* has become *chicken* (tsh*i*k·en), altering the first and retaining the second (k), *cicene* has become *kitchen* (k*i*tsh·en) by a precisely contrary action. Again, the single word *wicca* seems to have given rise to both *witch* and *wicked*, (*wicke* in Orrminn) and similarly ags. *wic* gives *wick* as an independent word, also heard in *Wickham* and in terminations as *bailiwick*, *sherifwick*, as well as *Berwick*, *Alnwick*, while in other cases it gives (w*i*tsh) as in *Ipswich*[2] or (*i*dzh) as in *Norwich*. Hence the pure (k) is no more the sign of a north country pronunciation than the (tsh) of the south; nor is it at all necessary to suppose that *ea*, *eo* were (JA, JO) to account for the change of a preceding (k) into (tsh).

As to the consonants generally there is very little to observe, except that probably (kj, gj) were well in use in the early Anglo-saxon times, that *g* also probably became (*g*h) that is, (gjh) in many cases, in the same way as it now does in Iceland, and in Modern Saxony,[3] so that the preparation for the (J) or simple (i) sound was early made. On the other hand, after (o, u) sounds and in other

[1] In Cumberland (k*oo*f).

[2] So called generally by persons living away from East Anglia. In Norwich I heard it called (*I*ps·*i*dzh) which follows the analogy of Norwich and Greenwich.

[3] Modern Saxon is *high* German, old Saxon and Anglosaxon *low* German. There was no connection between the two, and no connection is intended to be implied by this illustration. They are two independent phenomena.

places *g* may have had an early tendency to (g*w*h) as we also find in Icelandic, and thus prepared the subsequent changes (p. 212 and p. 311.)

The letter *h* seems to have naturally played a triple part, the three functions being frequently confused, and by no means generally understood at the present day. At the beginning of words *h* was either (H) or (H'), probably sometimes one and sometimes the other as in modern English, and in almost all languages where *h* is pronounced at all. At the end of words, the (H') was replaced by the (kh) which is an easier terminal sound, and more adapted to check a vowel sound. The initial combinations *hl*, *hr*, *hn*, *hw*, are ordinarily assumed to be (khl, khr, khn, khw) and at a remote period, before Anglosaxon was properly constituted, they may have been (kjhl, kjhr, kjhn, k*w*h). But it seems more probable that in the more cultivated period they were reduced to (lh, rh, nh, wh), the last (wh) remaining to the present day, although sadly neglected in the South of England, and the first (lh) existing in the XIII th century, though the second and third (rh, nh) rapidly disappeared. This view is strongly confirmed by the existent Icelandic pronunciation of *hj*, *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, *hv* as (ɹh, lh, nh, rh, wh). The device of prefixing *h* to form the symbols for these sounds, is so natural, that many persons still insist that the proper way of writing *when* is *hwen*, and when I was printing phonetically I found this position of the letters practically sufficient. An accurate analysis, however, would shew that (H'wen) was materially different from (when), and that therefore in all accurate phonetic writing the sounds should be distinguished.

The letter p[1] I presume was (w), certainly not (v), and probably not (bh). It is supposed by some to be merely a variety of the medieval form of *v*, but I consider it to be rather the old rune called wén = hope, in Cotton MS. Otho B. 10, as quoted in Hickes's Anglosaxon Grammar (Thesaurus i. 135). The sound of *v* consonant in ancient Latin, is a matter of dispute; it was probably (w) or (bh), and more probably the latter than the former, because we can hardly imagine (w) generating (v) except through (bh), but the passage from (bh) to (v) is so easy and slight, that the two parts of Germany which are distinguished by the two different sounds at this day, profess to pronounce their *w* in the same way. (Bh) is a kind of bat sound, readily falling into (w) or (v), but the real (w) has a very moderate domain in Europe.[2] The (bh) is thoroughly established in high Germany and in Spain, where the old joke of

"felices populi quibus *vivere* est *bibere*"

[1] Mr. Skeat notices only seven or eight instances of the use of *p* in Havelock, adding: "This evidence is interesting as shewing that this letter was then fast going out of use, and I think we may safely date the final disappearance of this letter from MSS. at about 1300."—Havelock, Preface § 26.

[2] An accurate conception of the three sounds (w, bh, v) is necessary for the proper understanding of many linguistic relations. For (w) the lips are rounded nearly as for (u) and the

points at once to the antiquity of the sound in that country in which it is still used for both *b* and *v*, and to the probable pronunciation of *v* in Latin as (bh) at that time. The example of *καυνέας* being heard as *cav' n' eas* = *cave ne eas*, would be solved by the identity (kabhne·aas) in both languages at that time. At the time when the Anglosaxons, being Christianized, adopted the Christian Roman alphabet, the Roman *v* consonant was certainly (v), a sound which the Anglo-Saxons did not then distinguish from (f), as we have reason to suppose that the letter *f*, like the letter *s*, served the purposes of both hiss and buzz. The consequence was that the Anglosaxons had no sign for their *w* consonant, which was distinct from *v*, and they therefore retained their runic *ƿ*. For these reasons I think that *ƿ* was (w) not (v), and that the German habit of transliterating *ƿ* by *v* is improper.

The combinations cw, wl, wr, were probably the labial modifications (k*w*, l*w*, r*w*). The first has been already explained. The other two still occur in French *loi*, *roi* = (l*w*a, r*w*a), confused with (lua, rua) on the one hand and (lwa, rwa) on the other, suprà p. 187. The action is however truly simultaneous. The ags. *wlaco* (l*w*aa·ko) seems to have generated (luuk) in *lukewarm*, and

back of the tongue is raised, but the outer edges of the lips are brought more together than for (u), and the sound of (w) when continued is therefore a *buzz*, a mixture of voice and whisper, and not a pure vowel sound. When the buzz is strong the tremor of the lips is very perceptible, and a little more force produces the labial trill (brh). If the voice is removed we have (wh), and the back of the tongue being raised as before mentioned, the slightest effort suffices to raise it higher and produce (k*w*h). This gives the relation between the gutturals and labials which plays such an important part in comparative philology. On the other hand, for (bh) the tongue is *not* raised, the sound is a pure labial, less like (u), but easily deduced from (w) by lowering the tongue and slightly flattening the lips. It is, to those used to it, an extremely easy and pleasant consonant, produced with the least possible effort. By dropping the voice it produces (ph), which is not now used in Europe, but was probably a value of *φ*. For (w, bh) there must be no contact with the teeth. Directly the lower lip touches the upper teeth, an impediment is raised to the passage of the air through the mouth, and the breath, escaping out on both sides, produces a rushing, rubbing, rustling sound, distinctive of the "divided" consonants, and known as (v), which, on dropping the voice, becomes (f). But all degrees of contact between the lower lip and the teeth are possible, producing varieties of (f, v), from sounds which can scarcely be distinguished from (ph, bh), up to extremely harsh hisses and buzzes. Generally, then, (w) is a consonant framed from (u) by closing the lips too closely to allow of a pure resonance for the vowel sound; (bh) is a (b) with the lips just slightly opened, or a (v) without touching the teeth, that is, a pure labial; (v) is a denti-labial. The (w) is further distinguished from (bh, v) by having the tongue raised. It is possible, of course to raise the tongue when sounding (v); the result is (vh), a very peculiar and disagreeable sound. But if the tongue is raised when sounding (bh) no ear would distinguish the result from (w). The following words should be carefully pronounced to shew these differences: Fr. *oui*, *oui*; Eng. *we*, German *wie*, Fr. *vie* = (u,i úi wii bhii vii), Dutch letters u, v, w = (yy, vee, bhee); usual Scotch *quhen*, English *when*, Aberdeenshire *fen* = (k*w*hEn, when, fEn); usual German *schreiben*, faulty German *schreiwen* = (shrai·bEn, shrai·bhEn); German *pferd* now (pfert), once probably (pphert) and in some Bavarian dialects (pHert).

wlite (lwii·te) has become (loo·te), *lote*, countenance in G. and E. 1162, 2328. On the other hand, as *wrong* exists as (vraq) in Aberdeenshire, so *wlænco* (lwæqk·o) generated the Scotch *wlonk* (vlɔqk) the origin of our *flunkey*. In ags. wlips (lwips) the labial modification has been simply dropped in Chaucer's *lipsen* 266, Sir T. Smith's (lips) and our *lisp*. Ags. *wlætian* to nauseate, loath, seems to be lost, but (lwat) and (laadh) = ags. láð, loath, are closely related in sound. *Wl*, *wr*, could scarcely be pronounced initially as (wl-, wr-), but would require the insertion of ('), thus (w'l-, w'r-), as seems to be the case in some Scotch dialects at the present day (p. 290.) The mode of writing would then be similar to that adopted for *hl*, *hr* = (lh, rh). The reason why *cw* was used in preference to *wc*, is probably to be sought in the Latin *qu*, and the probability that (kw-) being sounded with tolerable ease may have been confused with the correct sound (kw), for which there was a single character both in the Runic and Gothic alphabets.

The letter (g) of the Roman alphabet was also not quite the same as the ags. *g* in all cases. In later stages of the language, as in the XIII th century, two forms (g, ȝ) are found in use, the latter of which, under the form ʒ became confused with z in writing, and subsequently in printing (p. 310). But the Roman *g* represented some of the sounds of ags. *g* and hence the Anglosaxons found no more difficulty in using it than is now felt by the modern high Germans. The two sounds (th, dh) however, had no Latin equivalent. Though the old Latins had introduced *th*, *ch*, for the Greek sounds θ, χ, the probability is that these letters were never properly pronounced, and that at the period in question they were merely (t, k) as at present in Italy, and therefore quite unsuited for Anglosaxon. Hence the necessity for þ ð, the former a rune, the latter a modified *d*, whereas the use of *y* for (y) would imply that the Latins still made some distinction between *i* and *y*.

What were the precise meanings of þ ð, or rather how the meanings (th, dh) were distributed over them, it does not seem possible to elicit from the confused state of existing manuscripts. It is generally accepted that þ is (th) and ð is (dh),[1] yet þ is generally employed in initials, and ð elsewhere, quite disregardful of modern usage, which we know has remained unaltered for 300 years, and therefore might be supposed to represent the old practice. We find, however, in modern Icelandic, a systematic adherence to the rule

[1] Mr. Oswald Cockayne seems to consider ð = (th), and þ = (dh), for in the preface to his edition of Hali Meidenhad (suprà p. 506, n. 1), which is otherwise in ordinary orthography, he generally, but not quite consistently, employs þ ð in these senses. Thus I find: þe, þis, þose, þat, þey, þem, þeir, but: þirteenþ, faiþ, and in one place: auþor, though in three other cases: auðor, is writen; with this last spelling agrees: lengð, deað, and, perhaps: wið, which some still call (with), but then we also find: ðough. These inconsistencies in a modern writer who was evidently desirous of indicating the two sounds (th, dh) by appropriate letters may serve to explain the numerous inconsistencies of ancient and perhaps less careful scribes, who were certainly not less intending to carry out theoretical conceptions of orthography. See infrà, No. 2, under ð þ in the Icelandic Alphabet.

of initial þ and medial and final ð in writing, and a uniform corresponding pronunciation of (th) for þ and (dh) for ð. Hence we should not be justified in pronouncing pure Anglosaxon in any other way, and we must suppose the change to have occurred[1] in the transition period from pure Anglosaxon to Early English.

In the above remarks we have endeavoured to assign the probable values of the Anglosaxon letters from the conclusions to which we were gradually led for the XIIIth century, but these values differ materially from those assigned by our native Anglosaxon scholars. We have seen (p. 255, note 1) that one of them, an excellent scholar, who has paid much attention to the subject, decidedly calls long *i* (əi), long *e* (ii), long *a* (oo), long *u* (əu). The well known scholar, Benjamin Thorpe, evidently made long *i* (əi), and short *u* (ə), although he makes long *e* and *u* in Orrmin (ee, uu), see p. 487, note. Now it is certainly desirable to have some direct evidence as to the sounds of these long vowels, and this seems to be furnished by a valuable and interesting MS. at Oxford, to which attention was drawn by Hickes,[2] who gave some extracts from it, which will be here reproduced. In order to correct the errors in Hickes's transcription, Mr. G. Waring, of Oxford, obligingly collated the text with the MS., and has subsequently compared the proofs of the extracts with the original. I am also indebted to him for the account of the MS. given below.[3]

[1] Usage is not yet quite fixed in some few cases. *Meath* and *Lowth* are commonly called (Miith, Louth) by the uninitiated, and (Miidh, Loudh) comes on them as a surprise. *With* the preposition was always (with) in the XVIth century, and *with* the substantive is still so called. Sometimes an arbitrary distinction is made. Dr. R. G. Latham calls himself (Leeth·um), but informs me that his family says (Leedh·um). This is an instance of a variation of the medial *th*, which, so far as I can recall, is always (dh) in ordinary words. The change of final (dh) to (th) is natural enough, through the frequent use of (-dhth) as in *breathe* = (briidhth) at the end of a sentence, or when prolonged without a following vowel. The initial change has only affected the common words: that, the, thee, their, them, then, thence, there and its compounds, these, they, thine, this, those, thou, though, thus, thy. These have all (th) so far as they exist in Icelandic. But it must be remembered that we have a western dialect which uses (dh) initially in all cases. It would be interesting to know if there are any dialects which use (th) initially in all. Enclitically and after words ending with *d*, *t* we know that so late as Orrmin, and even later, þ became t, and not d, even in þat, þu, etc., and even after d, which is rather in favour of a (th) than a (dh) sound. But see a different use, p. 444, note 2.

[2] Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus. Auctore *Georgio Hickesio*, S.T.P. Oxford, 1705, folio, 3 vols; preface p. xi.

[3] The MS. is thus described by Hickes: "Dum in Bibliotheca Bodleyana Codd. Saxonicos perscrutarer, inveni pervetustum librum MS. cujus nota, NE. D. 2. 19. in quo quidem libro nonnullæ lectiones è veteris testamenti LXXII. interpretum versione Græca, cum Latina translatione ex adverso in alterâ columnâ scriptâ, Saxonicis literis describuntur." Mr. Waring says that the present signature of the MS. is Auct. F. 4. 32. It is a small quarto volume containing several unconnected pieces of great age and value. On the first page is a figure of Christ with an entry stating it to have been drawn by the hand of St. Dunstan. Fo. 1–8, "In honomatis sumi tonantis ars Euticis Gramatici," with several interlinear glosses, partly Latin and partly Old British.—Fo. 10–18. Anglosaxon homily on the Invention of the

The peculiarity of this manuscript is that it gives certain Greek texts in Anglosaxon characters, which are seen immediately not to reproduce the original letters, but to be intended to represent the sounds in reading. There is no indication of the age of the MS. in any part of the book, but Mr. Waring thinks that these transcriptions were probably written in the latter half of the x th century.[1] Now we shall see that Greek was at that time probably pronounced almost, if not quite, as at present. Hence, by comparing the letters by which the Anglosaxon scribe translated the Greek sounds, we have direct evidence of the values he assigned to the Anglosaxon letters themselves. To make this comparison the more complete, I append the extracts given in Hickes, which are quite sufficient for the purpose, as collated by Mr. Waring, and contrast them with the modern Greek pronunciation, as obligingly furnished to me by Prof. Valetta,[2] adding the ancient text for comparison.[3] As the

Cross, superscribed lxiii, as if forming part of a collection. The handwriting is ancient, the language pure and strictly grammatical. Judging from these characteristics and certain peculiarities of dialect, Mr. Waring assigns it to the latter half of the x th century. The legend is that of the poem of Elene.—Fo. 19. See below at fo. 24.—Fo. 20–22. A Lunar and Paschal Calendar.—Fo. 23. Pauca de Mensuris, containing several Old British glosses. —Fo. 19 and fo. 24–36. Extracts from the Septuagint with corresponding texts from the Itala, in two parts: fo. 24–28, the Septuagint text in Greek characters, full of flagrant blunders, and critically worthless; fo. 19, and half of fo. 28 to 36, the Septuagint text in Anglosaxon characters, of a decidedly better quality than the other. —Fo. 37 to end, Ovidii Nasonis Artis Amatoriæ, Lib. prim., accompanied with many interlinear glosses in Latin and Old British.—The pieces commencing on folios 1, 20, 23, 37, are noticed in Lhuyd, Archæol. p 226, and Zeuss, Celtica I, p. xxxviii, and II, p. 1076 ff. The whole codex is described in p. 63 of: Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Liber Alter seu *Humphredi Wanleii* Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliæ Bibliothecis extant, nec non multorum Vett. Codd. Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogus Historico-Criticus, cum totius Thesauri Linguarum Septentrionalium sex Indicibus, Oxford, 1703, folio, forming the second volume of Hickes. The Scribe apparently did not know Greek. The letters are run much into each other, with very imperfect attempts at arrangement into words.

[1] The following are his reasons: There could be little doubt of the date, if a period could be assigned when priests of the Anglosaxon church might have been brought into connection with those of Constantinople, and this is easily done. Otho I, emperor of Germany, 936 – 973, married Eadgith, daughter of King Athelstan I of England, 930, and his son and successor Otho II, married Theophania, daughter of the Greek Emperor Nicephorus, in 972, after the latter emperor's assassination. At the court of Otho, then, where constant connection was kept up with the Anglosaxons and the Greeks, there was a means opened out for the priests of the former to receive some tincture of Hellenic letters. We shall therefore hardly be wrong in referring such transcriptions to the latter part of the x th century. Want of opportunity is against an earlier date, and the confusion and ruin occasioned by the Danish invasion in the early part of the xi th century, the close connection of Canute with Rome, and the subsequent Norman influence through Edward the Confessor, render a later date almost impossible. To this we may add the agreement of the Saxon homily in the same book with the language of the x th century.

[2] Author of a learned work in modern Greek on the Life and Poems of Homer. *Ὁμήρου βίος καὶ ποιήματα, πραγματεία ἱστορικὴ καὶ κριτικὴ, ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου* N. *Βαλέττα*, London, 1867.

[3] There will be found many dif-

modern Greek does not distinguish long and short vowels, and does not seem to appreciate any such difference, but pronounces the same vowel in the same word sometimes long and sometimes short, according to the feeling of the moment, I felt that it would be misleading to indicate long and short vowels in the following, and I have therefore, for convenience marked them all as short. The same indistinctness exists in the Italian, Spanish,[1] and French languages, and probably exists naturally wherever the vowels are in perfect pairs. On a very accurate examination of the vowel pairs in English it will be seen that in many words they differ rather in quality than in quantity, and that there is, as Professor Haldeman urges, a medial length of vowel,[2] which is sometimes heard as short and sometimes as long. The Scotch consider most of their vowels as short, though they strike an English ear at first as long, being probably medial, and Féline marks almost all French vowels as short, though other writers mark them frequently as long. When I have placed the accent mark after the vowel instead of after the consonant, there seemed to be certainly an option in pronouncing long or short, and the shortest vowels, are, as in Italian, always perfectly clear and never degenerate into obscurities like the English. The letters *β, φ,* seem to be naturally pronounced by Prof. Valetta as (bh, ph), but when he became particularly emphatic he made them (v, f). I have, therefore, used (v, f) in my transcription as more convenient,[3] and for the same reason have transcribed *αυ, ευ* as (av, ev) or (af, ef).

ferences between the two editions, but it was thought best to follow the usual text of the Septuagint.

[1] My attention was first drawn to the doubtful medial quantity of the Italian vowels by H.I.H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, and Señor Cubì y Soler made me notice the absence of truly 'stopped,' or shut, short vowels in Castilian, which he said was a particular mark of that leading Spanish dialect, so that he suggested the use of long vowel signs in all Spanish words.

[2] Analytic Orthography, p. 80. Prof. Haldeman makes short vowels last about a quarter of a second, medial about three-eighths or one-half, and long vowels about five-eighths or three-quarters, so that the comparative lengths are about as 2, 3 and 5, or 1, 2, 3.

[3] The sounds (bh, ph) are most probably very ancient. Prof. Goldstücker in his learned paper on the Greek Digamma, read before the Philological Society, 20th Nov. 1868, attempted to point out the Greek words in which it had existed by means of a comparison with the Sanskrit form, inferring a digamma in many cases where the latter began with (v), or (sv), and the Greek had either no initial consonant or only an aspirate. Remembering that the Sanskrit grammarians affirm the Sanskrit sound to be a true (v), made with action of the teeth, and that in Spanish we know historically that Latin F, certainly (f), passed through (H) and became lost, as in *filius*, old Spanish *fijo*, modern *hijo* in which the *h* is not pronounced (i·xo), and knowing first how easily (v, f) are confused, next how unlikely the Greeks who had *σφ* = (sph) would be to allow (sv) or (sf), the ease with which therefore an initial (s) in this combination would be rejected, and at the same time the very probable transit of (s) into (f), we are led to the sound of (f) as that most likely to fulfil the phonetic conditions imposed on the digamma by comparative philology. The sound (w) would not be easily lost except before (o, u), and the sound (bh) was already probably existent, and became fixed as *one* (if not the only) sound of *βῆτα*.

Extracts from the Bodl. MS. Auct. F. 4, 32.

Anglosaxon Transcription.

MS. fo. 30, *b*.

26. Phyisomen anthropon cat icona ce cath omyosin imeteran ce archeto ton icthyon tis talasas ce ton petinon tu uranu ce ton ctinon ce passes tis gis ce panton ton herpeton ton herponton epi tis gis ce egeneto utos

27. ce ephyisen o theos ton anthropon cat icona theu epyisen auton aren ce thily epyoeisen autos.

28. ce eulogisen autus legon auxanesthe ce plithynesthe ce plirosate tin gin ce catacyrieusate autis ce archete ton icthyon tis thalassis ce ton petinon tu uranu ce ton panton ctinon tis gis ce panton ton erpeton ton erponton epi tis gis

29. ce ipen o theos idu edoca ymin panta chorton spomonri spiron sperma ó estin epano passis tis gis ce pan xylon o echi en eauto carpon spermatos sporimu ymin estae is brosin.

30. ce passin tys thiriys tis gis ce pasin tys petinys tu uranu ce panti erpeto erponti epi tis gis ó echi en eauto pnoin zois ce panta chorton chloron is brosin ce egeneto utos.

Modern Greek Pronunciation.

Genesis ch. i.

26. Pi,i·somen an·thropon kat iko·na imeter·an ke kath omi·osin, ke arkhet·osan ton ikhthi·on tis thala·sis, ke ton petinon· tu uranu·, ke ton ktinon·, ke pa·sis tis ɟis, ke pan·don ton erpeton· ton erpon·don epi· tis ɟis.

27. ke epi·isen o theos· ton an·thropon. kat iko·na the,u· epi·isen afton·, ar·sen ke thi·li epi·isen aftus·

28. ke evlo·ɟisen aftus· o theos·, legh·on, afksa·nesthe, ke plithi·nesthe, ke pliro·sate tin ɟin, ke katakirief·sate aftis·, ke ar·khete ton ikhthi·on tis thala·sis, ke ton petinon· tu uranu·, ke pan·don ton ktinon·, ke pa·sis tis ɟis, ke pan·don ton erpeton· ton erpon·don epi· tis ɟis.

29. ke i·pen o theos·, idhu· dhe·dhoka imin· pan·da khor·ton spo·rimon spi·ron sper·ma, o es·tin epa·no pa·sis tis ɟis, ke pan ksi·lon, o e·khi en eafto· karpon· sper·matos spori·mu, imin· es·te is vro·sin·

30. ke pa·si tis thiri·is tis ɟis, ke pa·si tis petinis· tu uranu·, ke pandi· erpeto· er·pondi epi· tis ɟis, o ekh·i en eafto· psikhin· zo,is·, ke pan·da khor·ton khloron· is vro·sin, ke eɟen·eto u·tos.

Greek Text. Genesis, Ch. i.

26. ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἑρπετῶν τῶν ἑρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

27. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.

28. καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς, λέγων, αὐξάνεσθε, καὶ πληθύνεσθε, καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν, καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς· καὶ ἄρχετε τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἑρπετῶν τῶν ἑρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

29. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς, ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν πάντα χόρτον σπόριμον σπεῖρον σπέρμα, ὅ ἐστιν ἐπάνω πάσης τῆς γῆς· καὶ πᾶν ξύλον, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ καρπὸν σπέρματος σπορίμου, ὑμῖν ἔσται εἰς βρῶσιν.

30. καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ παντὶ ἑρπετῷ ἕρποντι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ ψυχὴν ζωῆς, καὶ πάντα χόρτον χλωρὸν εἰς βρῶσιν, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.

Anglosaxon Transcription.	*Modern Greek Pronunciation.*
31. ce yden o theos ta panta ósa ephyisen ce idu cala lian ce egeneto hespera ce egeneto prohi himera ecti .	31. ke i·dhen o theos· ta pan·da, os·a epi·ise, ke idhu· kala· li·an· ke eɟen·eto esper·a, ke eɟen·eto pro,i·, imer·a ek·ti.
MS. fo. 34, *b*.	Genesis ch. xxii.
1. O theus epirasen ton habracham ce ipen pros auton habracham habracham ce ipen idu ego.	1. o theos· epi·rasen ton Avra,-am·, ke i·pen afto·, Avra,am·, Avra,am·, ke i·pen idhu· egho·
2. ce ipen labeto yion su ton agapeton on egapesas ton isac ce poreutheti is ten gen ten ypselen ce prosenencon auton eci is olocarposin is ena oros on sy ipo	2. Ke i·pe, lav·e ton i,on· su ton aghapiton·, on igha·pisas ton Isa,ak·, ke poref·thiti is tin ɟin tin ipsilin·, ke anen·eqke afton· eki· is olokar·posin ef en ton ore·oon on an si i·po.
3. anastas de habracham to prohi	3. anastas· dhe Avra,am· to pro,i· . . . .
MS. fo. 34 *a*.	Psalm xlii.
1. on tropon epipothie elafos epi tas pegas ton ydaton utos epipothi e psuʒche mu pros se o theus	1. on trop·on epipothi· i el·-afos epi· tas pighas· ton idha·ton u·tos epipothi· i psikhi· mu pros se, o theos·
2. edipsisen e psyche mu pros ton theon ton zonta pote ixo cae opthesome tu prosopu tu theu	2. edhip·sisen i psikhi·mu pros ton theon· ton zon·da; po·te iks·o ke ofthi·some to proso·po tu the,u·?
3. egenethe my ta dacrya mu artos emeras cae nyctos.	3. eɟeni·thi ta dhak·ria·mu emi· ar·tos imer·as ke niktos·
MS. fo. 32, *b*.	Isaiah ch. iv.
1. Ce epilempsonte epta gyneces enos anthropu leguse ton arton emon fagometha ce ta	1. ke epilip·sonde epta· ɟine·-kes anthro·pu enos·, legh·use: ton ar·ton imon· faghom·etha, ke

Greek Text.

31. *καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐποίησε· καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν· καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, καὶ ἐγένετο πρωὶ ἡμέρα ἕκτη.*

Genesis Ch. xxii.

1. *ὁ Θεὸς ἐπείρασεν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἀβραὰμ, Ἀβραάμ· καὶ εἶπεν, ἰδοὺ ἐγώ.*

2. *καὶ εἶπε, λάβε τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητὸν, ὃν ἠγάπησας, τὸν Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ πορεύθητι εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλὴν, καὶ ἀνένεγκε αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ εἰς ὁλοκάρπωσιν ἐφ' ἓν τῶν ὀρέων ὧν ἂν σοι εἴπω.*

3. *ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τὸ πρωὶ . . . .*

Psalm xlii.

1. *ὃν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, οὕτως, ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου πρὸς σὲ, ὁ Θεός·*

2. *ἐδίψησεν ἡ ψυχή μου πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα· πότε ἥξω καὶ ὀφθήσομαι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ;*

3· *ἐγενήθη τὰ δάκρυά μου ἐμοὶ ἄρτος ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.*

Isaiah Chap. iv.

1. *Καὶ ἐπιλήψονται ἑπτὰ γυναῖκες ἀνθρώπου ἑνὸς, λέγουσαι· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν φαγόμεθα, καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἡμῶν*

Anglosaxon Transcription.

imatia emon peribalometha plen to onoma su ce clite ef emas afele ton onidismon emon

2. te de emera ecinie empilampsi o theus en boile meta doxes epi tes ges tu ypsose ce doxase to catalipthen tu israhel.

3. ce este to ypolipthen en sion ce to catalipthen en hirusalem agiy clethesonte pantes y engraphentes is zoen en hirusalem.

4. oti ecplyni kirios ton rupon ton yion ce thygateren sion ce to aema eccathari ec messo auton en pneumati criseos ce en pneumati causeos.

5. ce exi ce este apas topos tu orus sion ce panta ta peri cyclo autes sciasi nefele emeras cae os capnu ce fotos pyros ceomenu nyctos pase te doxe scepasthesete.

6. ce este is scian apo caumatos en scepe ce en apocryfo apo scelerotetos ce yetu.

Isaiah ch. v.

1. Aso de to agapameno asma to agapeto to ampeloni mu Ampelos egeneto to ecapemeno en cerati en topo pioni

Modern Greek Pronunciation.

ta ima·tia imon· perivalu·metha: plin to o·noma to son keklis·tho ef imas·, af·ele ton onidhismon· imon·.

2. ti dhe imer·a eki·ni epilam·psi o theos· en vuli· meta· dhok·sis epi· tis ȷis, tu ipso·se ke dhoksaa·se to katalifthen· tu Isra,il·.

3. ke es·te to ipolifthen· en Sion· ke to katalifthen· en Ierusalim·, a·ȷi,i klithi·sonde pan·des i ghrafen·des is zoin· en Ierusalem.

4. o·ti ekplini· ki·rios ton ri·pon ton ion· ke ton thighater·on Sion·, ke to e·ma ekkathari,i· ek mes·u afton·, en pnev·mati kri·seos ke pnev·mati kaf·seos.

5. ke ik·si·, ke es·te pas to·pos tu or·us Sion·, ke pan·da ta perikik·lo aftes· skia·si nefel·i imer·as, ke os kapnu· ke fotos· piros· keomen·u niktos·, ke pa·si ti dhok·si skepasthi·sete.

6. ke es·te is skian· apo· kav·matos, ke en skep·i, ke en apokri·fo apo· sklirot·itos ke ietu·.

Isaiah ch. v.

1. a·so dhi to ighapimen·o as·ma tu aghapitu· mu to ambelo·ni mu. Ambelon· eȷeni·thi to igapimen·o eq ge·rati en do·po pi·oni.

Greek Text.

περιβαλούμεθα· πλὴν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ σὸν κεκλήσθω ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἄφελε τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν ἡμῶν.

2. τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐπιλάμψει ὁ Θεὸς ἐν βουλῇ μετὰ δόξης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τοῦ ὑψῶσαι καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

3. καὶ ἔσται, τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν ἐν Σιὼν, καὶ τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἅγιοι κληθήσονται πάντες οἱ γραφέντες εἰς ζωὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

4. ὅτι ἐκπλυνεῖ Κύριος τὸν ῥύπον τῶν υἱῶν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων Σιὼν, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐκκαθαριεῖ ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν, ἐν πνεύματι κρίσεως καὶ πνεύματι καύσεως.

5. καὶ ἥξει, καὶ ἔσται πᾶς τόπος τοῦ ὄρους Σιὼν, καὶ πάντα τὰ περικύκλῳ αὐτῆς σκιάσει νεφέλη ἡμέρας, καὶ ὡς καπνοῦ καὶ φωτὸς πυρὸς καιομένου νυκτὸς, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ σκεπασθήσεται.

6. καὶ ἔσται εἰς σκιὰν ἀπὸ καύματος, καὶ ἐν σκέπῃ, καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἀπὸ σκληρότητος καὶ ὑετοῦ.

Isaiah Chap. v.

1. ἄσω δὴ τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ᾆσμα τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ μου τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου. Ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ, ἐν κέρατι, ἐν τόπῳ πίονι.

Anglosaxon Transcription.

2. ce fragmon perietheca cae echaracosa ce ephyteusa ompelon sorec ce ocodomesa pyrgon en meso autu ce prolenion oryxa en auto ce emina tu pyese stafylen epyesen de acantas

MS. fo. 33, *b*.

1. Y dipsontes poreuesthe ef ydor ce osy men u cecethe argyraⁿn badisantes agorasete ce piete aneu argyriu cæ timis ynon ce stear

2. inati timasthe argyrio ke ton misthon ymon .u. chi plismonín acusate mu cae fagesthe ta agatha ce tryfisi en agathys i psychi ymon

3. prosechete tys osin ymon ce epacoluthisate tes odys mu acussate mu cae ziste en agathys i psychi ymon cae chathisome ymin diathicin eonion ta osia dauid ta pista.

4. idu martyrion auton dedoca ethnesin archonta ce prostassonta ethnesin.

5. ethni a uc idisan se epicalesonte se cæ y las .y. uc epistanto se epi se catafeuxonte enecen tu theu tu agiu israhel oti edoxasen se.

Modern Greek Pronunciation.

2. ke fraghmon· perieth·ika ke ekhara·kosa ke efi·tefsa am·-belon Sorik· ke okodho·misa pir·-ghon en mes·o aftu· ke proli·nion o·riksa en afto·, ke em·ina tu pi,i·se stafilin·, ke epi·isen akan·-thas.

Isaiah ch. lv.

1. i dhipson·des, porev·esthe ef i·dhor, ke o·si mi ekh·ete arJi·rion, vadhi·sandes aghora·sate, ke fa·Jete an·ev arJiri·u ke timis· i·non ke ste·ar.

2. inati· timas·the arJiri·u, ke ton mokh·thon imon· uk is plismonin·? aku·sate· mu, ke fa·-Jesthe aghatha·, ke endrifi·si en aghathis· i psikhi· imon·.

3. prose·khete tis osin· imon·, ke epakoluthi·sate tes odhis·mu: isaku·sate· mu ke zi·sete en aghathis· i psikhi· imon·, ke dhiathi·some imin· dhiathi·kin e,o·nion, ta o·sia Dhavidh· ta pista·

4. idhu· marti·rion en eth·ne-sin e·dhoka afton· ar·khonda ke prostas·onda eth·nesin.

5. eth·ni a uuk i·dhasi· se epikale·sonde· se, ke la,i· i uk epis·tande· se epi· se katafef·-ksonde en·cken Kiri·u tu the,u· su tu aJi·u Isra,il·, ot·i edhok·-sase· se.

Greek Text.

2. *καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα, καὶ ἐχαράκωσα, καὶ ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον Σωρὴκ, καὶ ᾠκοδόμησα πύργον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ προλήνιον ὤρυξα ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλὴν, καὶ ἐπόιησεν ἀκάνθας.*

Isaiah Chap. lv.

1. *οἱ διψῶντες, πορεύεσθε ἐφ' ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ ἔχετε ἀργύριον, βαδίσαντες ἀγοράσατε, καὶ φάγετε ἄνευ ἀργυρίου καὶ τιμῆς οἶνον καὶ στέαρ.*

2. *ἱνατί τιμᾶσθε ἀργυρίου, καὶ τὸν μόχθον ὑμῶν οὐκ εἰς πλησμονήν; ἀκούσατέ μου, καὶ φάγεσθε ἀγαθὰ, καὶ ἐντρυφήσει ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν.*

3. *προσέχετε τοῖς ὠσὶν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπακολουθήσατε ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου· εἰσακούσατε μου, καὶ ζήσεται ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν, καὶ διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην αἰώνιον, τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστὰ.*

4. *ἰδοὺ μαρτύριον ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἔδωκα αὐτὸν, ἄρχοντα καὶ προστάσσοντα ἔθνεσιν.*

5. *ἔθνη ἃ οὐκ οἴδασί σε, ἐπικαλέσονταί σε, καὶ λαοὶ οἳ οὐκ ἐπίστανταί σε ἐπὶ σὲ καταφεύξονται, ἕνεκεν Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι ἐδόξασέ σε.*

From these extracts we may deduce the following table of the correspondence of the Greek and Anglosaxon letters. A third column shews the values now attributed to the Greek letters in Athens, including some combinations which do not occur in the extracts.

Greek Letters	Anglosaxon Transcription	Modern Greek Pronunciation	Greek Letters	Anglosaxon Transcription	Modern Greek Pronunciation	Greek Letters	Anglosaxon Transcription	Modern Greek Pronunciation
α	a	a	ηυ		iv	ῥ ῥ̓	r	r
ᾳ	a	a	θ	th	th	σ	s ss	s
αι	e ae	e	ι	i	i	τ	t	t
αυ	au av	av af	κ	c	k	τζ		tsh
β	b	v	λ	l	l	υ	y	i
γ	g c	gh ȝ	μ	m	m	υι	yi	i
γγ	qg g	ȝ	μπ	mp	mb b	φ	ph f	f
γι		ȝ	ν	n	n	φθ	pth	fth
γκ	nc	qg	ντ	nt	nd d	χ	ch	kh
γχ		qkh	ντζ		dzh	χθ	cth	khth
δ	d	dh	ξ	x	ks	ψ	ps	ps
ε	e	e	ο	o	o	ω	o	o
ει	i	i	οι	y	i	ῳ	o	o
ευ	eu ev	ev ef	ου	u	u	ωυ		ov of
ζ	z	z	π	p ph	p	(ʽ)	h	–
η	i e	i	ρ	r	r	(ʼ)	h	–
ῃ	e	i	ῥ	r	r			

As Prof. Valetta pronounced, *α* was (aa, a) or (*aa*, *a*), but there was never any rounding or labialisation producing (*a*h, A). From this, however, it does not follow that the ags. *a* which transcribes *α* may not have had a labialised form, for, just as the French *a* was called (A) in England, when it was only (*a*), p. 226, note, col. 2, so the Anglosaxons would have transcribed *α* by *a*, even if the first said (a) and the last (A). But we may safely conclude that ags. long *a* was not (*oo*) or even (oo).

The uniform transcription of *ε*, and almost uniform transcription of *αι*, by *e*, precludes the idea that ags. *e* was ever anything but (ee, e). When *αι* was not represented by *e*, which is very rarely, it is represented by *ae*, which must be regarded rather as a Latin than an ags. form, having then the invariable sound of (ee), although the ags. æ itself is found in *cæ* Is. 55, 1. 5. Thus *καὶ* is generally written *ce* but occasionally *cae* Ps. 42, 2; and *este* *ἔσται* Is. 4, 3. 5 is evidently more correct than *estae*, Gen. 1, 29; so that *aema* *αἷμα* Is. 4, 4, should be *ema*.

The transcription of *ω* *ο* by *o*, shews that ags. must have been (oo, o) or (*oo*, *o*). Prof. Valetta pronounced Greek, and indeed English, with a clear (oo, o), and did not seem to be aware of (*oo*). But just as Englishmen nowadays report the Greek *ω* to be (*oo*). so the Anglosaxons would of course have used their *o*, whether it meant (oo) or (*oo*).

The uniform transcription of *ι* by *i* shews that ags. *i* was certainly

(ii, i) or (*ii i*). There are six letters and combinations in modern Greek which, in Prof. Valetta's pronunciation, have the sound of (ii, i), viz.: *η ι υ ει οι υι*. Of these the ags. transcription gives *i* for *ι* and *ει* uniformly, with the single error *ie* in Ps. 42,1 *epipothie* ἐπιποθεῖ. For *η* we find most generally *i*, but in about 50 instances *e*, not, however, uniformly, thus against *passes* πάσης Gen. 1, 26, we find *passis*, ib. v. 29; against *ten gen* τὴν γῆν Gen. 22, 2, we may put *tis gis*, Gen. 1, 30; against *emeras* ἡμέρας Ps. 42, 3, we have *himera* Gen. 1, 31; against *psyche* ψυχὴ Ps. 42, 2, we have *psychi*, Is. 55, 2; against *epyesen* ἐποίησεν Is. 5, 2, we have *epyisen* Gen. 1, 27, against *exi* ἥξει Is. 4, 5, we have *ixo* ἥξω Ps. 42, 2, and so on. Hence we cannot conclude that *η* was sounded as (e), or *e* as (i), but must consider that there was some confusion in the mind of the scribe, perhaps arising from the Latin transcriptions of *η*, with which he was necessarily more familiar. The forms *ecinie* ἐκείνῃ Is. 4, 2, and *agapameno* ἠγαπημένῳ Is. 5, 1 are mere mistakes. The Greek *υ οι* are uniformly rendered by *y* and *υι* by *yi*, mere clerical errors excepted, as *epyoeisen* ἐποίησεν Gen. 1, 27 when five words before it was *epyisen*; and *ecpluni rupon* ἐκπλυνεῖ ῥύπον Is. 4, 4, between which words stands *kirios* κύριος (having *i* and not *y* for *υ*,) as if to shew the error, while *psuʸche* ψυχὴ Ps. 42, 1, indicates an intention to correct such errors. Now we have reason to suppose that the earlier sounds of *υ υι οι* were (y, yi, ui), and that the degradation of *y*, *yi* into (i), was similar to the common upper German use of (i) for (y), while (i) for (ui) is comparable to the French *français* (fraase) for *françois* (fraasue). At present Prof. Valetta will not admit any other sound but (i) for any one of the three combinations, *υ υι οι*, but Franz asserts in his Modern Greek Grammar,[1] that *υ υι οι* resemble French *u*,[2] which at least shews a probability that the Anglosaxon scribe also recognized (y) rather than (i) in the combinations *υ υι οι*, and hence that the ags. *y* was, as is generally suspected, (y).

The Greek *ου* is the least disputed of the Greek sounds; it remained for writers of the XVIth century to start the theory that both Greek *ου* and Latin *u* were (ou), suprà pp. 150-1. We find it uniformly represented by *u*, with the exception of the manifest error *boile* βουλῇ Is. 4, 2.

As to the transcriptions *au*, *eu* for *αυ*, *ευ*, it is not easy to say whether they are to be taken as Latin (au, eu), or whether *u* is

[1] Grammatica Linguæ Græcæ Recentioris, Romæ in Collegio Urbano, 1837, 8vo. pp. v, 137, and tables. The preface is signed Joannes Franzius, and dated Romæ, Idibus Martiis, 1837. Franz was, I believe, a Bavarian priest who was sometimes at the court of Otho.

[2] "Vocalium pronuntiationem examinanti imprimis hæ tres *η ι υ* sese offerunt, de quibus si quis ex usu vulgari judicaverit, facile adduci potest, ut nullum in sono earum discrimen deprehendi arbitretur. Quanquam illud quidem negari non potest, quum *η* magis ex imo pronuntietur, *υ* ad sonum Gallici *u* propius accedere . . . . *οι υι* u (gall.) ποῖος, υἱὸς (pyos, yos)." Ib. p. 2.

"u consonant," that is *v*, in which case (av, ev) would agree with the modern sounds except before *π*, *τ*, *κ*.

These transcriptions establish, therefore, by direct evidence, that:

ags. *a* was one of the sounds (a, *a*, *a*h, ʌ), and not (o, *o*).
ags. *e* was (e).
ags. *i* was one of the sounds (i, *i*), and not a diphthong like (ai)
ags. *o* was one of the sounds (o, *o*)
ags. *u* was one of the sounds (u, *u*), and not (ou)
ags. *y* was probably (y) but may have been (i) or (*i*)

The transcription has several foreign letters and combinations as, *ae*, *z*, *th*, *x*, *ph*, *ch*, the meaning of which is generally evident. The only difficulty is ph when used for *π* in *phyisomen* *ποιήσωμεν*, Gen. 1, 26, *ephyisen* *ἐποίησεν*, v. 27, where it is explained by the concurrent form *epyisen* in the same verse. In all other words *p* only is used. The concurrent form *f* when *ph* represents *φ* as in *nefele fotos* *νεφέλη φωτὸς*, Is. 4, 5, shews its value in this case. Before *th*, there seems to have been the same difficulty of pronouncing *ph*, as at the present day, where so many say, as most used to write *dipthong* (dip·thoq), for we find *opthesome* *ὀφθήσομαι* Ps. 42, 2, *ypolipthen* *ὑπολειφθὲν* Is. 4, 3, where the modern Greek says (ipolifthen·). Similarly *cth* is used for *χθ* in *icthyon* *ἰχθύων* Gen. 1, 28. It is rather remarkable that þ was not used for *θ*.

The consistent use of *c* to transcribe Greek *κ*, to the exclusion of *k*, shews that the ags. always pronounced *c* as either (k) or (*k*), the distinction, of course, being unrecognized. As *b*, *g*, *d* are used for *β*, *γ*, *δ*, no countenance is given to the modern uses (bh, gh, dh), where (bh) becomes (v), and (gh) is rather (grh) or the lighter (*r*), but before (i, e) falls into (*g*h, *g*rh) or (ɹ), the last being the recognized sound. The character ð stood in readiness for *δ*, but as *th* had been used for *θ*, *dh* would have been the only appropriate sign for *δ*, and this was not a known symbol. Perhaps the use of þ, ð, had begun to be unsettled, and this may have prevented their employment for *θ*, *δ*. The ags. *g* was itself most probably often (gh) and hence no better sign could be devised, even if the (gh) sound of *γ* was recognized. The modern change of *π*, *τ*, *κ*, into (b, d, g), after *μ*, *ν*, *γ*, is not acknowledged. But the change of *γ* into (q) before *κ* in the middle of a word is acknowledged as *prosenencon* *ἀνένεγκε* Gen. 22, 2.

The Greek aspirate is generally omitted, but an *h* is occasionally inserted where there is none in the original, especial to avoid an hiatus as *prohi* *πρωΐ*, Gen. 1, 31, *israhel* *Ἰσραὴλ*, Is. 55, 5, and this is occasionally strengthened in *ch* as *habracham* *Ἀβαάμ*.

The principal gain, then, of this transliteration is the establishment of the Anglosaxon simple vowel system within certain limits; nothing is gained for the double vowels *ea*, *eo*. On the whole, the results are confirmatory of those arrived at by the totally different process of gradual ascension from the English of the XIV th, XIII th, and XII th centuries.

We have assumed as well known that the pronunciation of Greek in the x th century at Byzantium was practically the same as that now in use at Athens.[1] The proofs of this are to be sought in the hieroglyphical transcription of the names and titles of the Greek and Roman Pharaohs, as collected in Lepsius's Königsbuch, in the Septuagint and the New Testament transcription of Hebrew words, and in the New Testament transcription of Latin names, in the Syriac vowel points, in the transcription of Latin names by Polybius and other Greek writers, in the numerous errors of the old Christian and other inscriptions, and, among other sources, in the writing of Latin words in Greek letters in the VI th and VII th centuries, by certain Greeks at Ravenna, who had to attest certain Latin documents which still exist, and have been published by Marini.[2] As a companion to the above transcription of Greek into Anglosaxon characters, a few of these attempts by Greeks to write Latin in Greek characters will be interesting, and, if we bear in mind that they were writing an unknown language from dictation and would be therefore likely to commit as many errors of audition and pronunciation as a decidedly provincial Frenchman, ignorant of English, who attempted to write English from dictation in his own characters, we shall see that the key to his meaning is to be found in the modern pronunciation of Greek. The Latin interpretation here annexed has been deduced from corresponding Latin attestations in the same documents. The Latin letters *u*, *n*, *d*, indicate some peculiar forms of *υ*, *ν*, *δ*, and *h* is sometimes Latin H, and sometimes a peculiar form of *η*. The transcript of Marini is not always trustworthy, and in a few

[1] "Why Greek alters not in fourteen centuries, and English must needs alter in four, is queer," wrote a friend in reply to an observation of mine on the pronunciation of Greek at the time of Ulfilas. Of course there must have been reasons for the preservation of any pronunciation for so long a time. Greece was a very small country, but it had numerous dialects, and by neglecting these we reduce the country almost to one city, Byzantium, the seat of the Greek empire, and of Greek learning and literature, till quite recent times. The pronunciation we have to deal with is therefore that of an undisturbed court and literary dialect, in which we should naturally expect the utmost uniformity to prevail, while as it gave the character to all Greek literature, it became the norm for all "correct" speakers. England offers the utmost contrast to this state of things, and the violent succussions of two civil wars, the forcing of a peasant into a court dialect, the adoption of a whole vocabulary from a foreign tongue, the parliamentary introduction of provincial speakers among the highest of the realm, the general importance of secondary cities, and other causes, readily suggest themselves to account for the numerous changes which have prevailed. If we examined the Greek dialects at present for variety of pronunciation, we should probably obtain a large amount of information, important in its bearings even upon ancient Greek usages. The modern system of education however, which aims at uniformity of pronunciation and a recurrence to ancient idiom, only the ancient Greek Grammar being taught in schools, may soon efface these records of the past. In the disturbed state of Greece, from the death of Alexander B.C. 323 to the establishment of the Greek empire, A.D. 395, took place most probably those changes which separate the modern from the ancient system.

[2] I papiri diplomatici raccolti ed illustrati dall' abate *Gaetano Marini*, primo custode della Bibl. Vatic. e prefetto degli archivi secreti della Santa Sede. In Roma 1805, fol.

instances it has been corrected by his facsimiles, but the passages ought to be carefully re-edited from the original documents. The numbers and pages refer to Marini's book, and the numbers in ( ) to the lines of the document. The Latin contractions have not been extended, and Marini is not always clear as to their meaning.

No. 75, p. 116. Rome, in the Vatican.

Attestation to a will A.D. 575, by which certain property was left to the Church at Ravenna. The numbers are those of the lines. Corrected by facsimile, plate V.

(24). Πετρος *vh*. Κολεκταριως ουει τησταμηντων ρογατος α Μαννανη . . . (25) . . . . τηστατωρη φιλιως κωμδα Ναρδερη ηψου πρησεντη ετ σουσκριυεντη (26) . . . . ει τησταμεντω ρηλεκτον περ κον κονσετουετ ερηδε σαντα ηκλισια (27) . . . . κα Ραυεννατη τησης σουσκριψιη.

(24) Petrhs vh Collectarius huic testamentum rogatus a Mannane (25) vd testarore filio qd. Nanderit ipso præsente et subscribente (26) adque ei testamento relictum per quod constituit heredem santam ecclesiam (27) catholicam Ravennatem testis subscripsi.

No. 90, p. 139. In Bologna, Museo dell' Instituto.

Deed of Gift to the Church at Ravenna, VI th or VII th century. Corrected by facsimile, plate XII.

(38) Μαριπος χρυσωκαταλακτις ουεικ χαρτουλε ουσουφορτυ . . . (39) *πατιωπις* ssταρουμ σεξ ουπκεαρουμ πρικιπαριω ιππιτρ . . . (40) *πομιπατε* τωτιους σουστατιε μουμελε ετ ιπμωμλε s . . . (41) μωμειπτιμους σιγκουμ σουπεριους λεγιτορ φακτα . . . . (42) sακτα Ραμεννατε Εκλισιε α Ιωαππε *uκ* Εισπαταρ . . . (43) Γεοργι Μαειστρο Μιλιτ . . μ ετ *ποπου* Πριμικιριους Νουμ . . . (44) κουμ Θ . . . . . κ . . . . δωνατουρε κοι μι πρεσε . . . (45) *που* sακτι Κροκις φικετ . . τ κωρα *πους* ει ριλικτα . . . (46) τος *αu* εοδεμ τεστις sουsκριψι ετ δε κομσιρ . . . (47) *πιμους* ωμπιμους κε sουπεριους sυκκριτα λεγουπ . . . (48) sακτα ευμαγελλια κορπορραλιτερ μεει πρεsεντι . . . (49) . . . *u* ουκ περποπεπατε sακτε Ραμεππατε εκλισιε τρα . .

(38) Marinus Chrysokatalactis huic chartulæ usufructuariæ (39) donationis sstarum sex unciarum principalium in integro. super (40) nominatæ totius substantiæ mubilæ et immubilæ seseque (41) moventibus sicut superius legitur facta in sstam (42) sanctam Ravennatæ Ecclesiæ a Johanne vc. Expatario qd. (43) Georgio Magistro Militum et nunc Primicirius Numeri felicum (44) qd. Theodosiakus ssto donatore qui mi presente (45) signum sanctæ Crucis fecit et coram nobis ei relicta est (46) rogatus ab eodem testis subscripsi et de conservandis (47) omnibus (?) omnibus quæ superius superscripta (?) leguntur ad (48) sancta evangelia corporaliter mei presentia [præbuit sacramenta et hanc donationem] (49) ab hoc prenominatæ sanctæ Ravennatæ Ecclesiæ traditam [vidi].

No. 92, p. 142. Rome, in the Vatican.

Deed of Gift, VI th or VII th century. Corrected by facsimile, plate XIII; line 19 is scarcely legible, and the whole is very obscure.

(17) *φn* sεφαπος ιλλουsριος κοπμαπεπs
(18) εν κιβιτατε Νεαπολιταναε οικ [καρ-]
(20) τουλε α *d*ιε πρεσεντι *d*οπα . . . .
(21) *d*ε σοπρα ισκριπτα ομπια επμοβιλια
(22) πρε*d*ια κυι σουπτ τερριτοριο Αγου
(23) [Βιπ]ο ουβι ουβι σεου επτρο κιβιτατε
(24) [σε]ου φορι κιβιτατε ιουρις μει α με
(25) φακτε *εn* σαπκτα εκκλεσια Ραβεπ
(26) πατε *ad* ομπια σοπραισκριπτα ρε
(27) λεγι κοπσεπσι ετ σουσκριψι ετ τεsεs
(28) κυι σουσκριβερεντ ρογαβι.

(17) Fn Stephanos illustrius conmanens (18) in civitate Neapolitanae huic (20) cartulæ a die præsentis donationis (21) de supra inscripta omnia inmobilia (22) prædia quæ sunt territorio Agu- (23) bino ubi ubi seu intro civitate (24) seu foris civitate, juris mei a me (25) facte en sancta ecclesia Raven (26) nate ad omnia suprainscripta re- (27) legi consensi et subscripsi et testes (28) qui subscriberent rogavi.

No. 110, p. 169. Bergamo, in the possession of the Marchesa Antonia Solzi Suardi.

Deed of Gift. Supposed to be of the VI th century. No facsimile.

(9) . . , . σπ. ουι ουσοφρϋκτυαριαι donatζιονες καρτουλαι . . . . . (11) εθ πϋτει αθκοιαι ιϋγρεσο εθ εγρεσο νεγ νον . . . . (12) . . . ριετε α πλατεα υελ ομνιμους ad εοδεμ περτενε . . . (13) . . . σικοθ σπ. λεγιτορ φακτα α σπ. γαυθιϋσο ρευ . . . (14) . . . μο defενσορε σαντε εκκλεσιαι ρανεννατε . . . (15) . . . ιν σπ. ρανεννατεμ εκκλεσ κ μ . . . (16) . . . ε σϋσριψιθ εθ κοραν ν . . . ις αι ρελικτα εστ . . . (17) . . . ουσ α σπ. γαυθιϋσο τεστες σϋσκριψι εθ ανκ . . . (18) . . . λαμ ποσιτα σουπερ σαντα ευαγγελια ακτζιο ... (19) ... ρεφατε εκκλεσιαι α μεμορατο γαυζιοσο σουκ . . . (20) . . . υρανδομ τραδεταμ υιδι.

(9) . . . sp. huic usufructuariæ donationis cartulae ssti hortus in integro qui est in pergulis exornatus cum usu cortis (11) et putei adque ingresso et egresso nec non et (12) pariete vel omnibus ad eundem pertinentibus. (13) sicut sp. legitur facta a sp. Gaudioso reverentis(14)simo defensore sanctæ ecclesiæ Ravennatæ dona(15)tori in sp. Ravennatem eccles. qui me (16) presente subscripsit et coram nobis ei relicta est (17) rogatus a sp. Gaudioso testis subscripsi et hanc (18) cartulam positam super sancta evangelia actionariis (19) prefate Ecclesiæ a memorato Gaudioso sub (20) jusjurandum traditam vidi.

No. 114, p. 172. Rome, in the Vatican.

Deed of Sale. VI th century. No facsimile.

(92) Ιϋλιανος υh. Αργενταριος εις ειστρωμεντις υιγενται ιϋγερου (93) φονδει Κονκωρδιακος ρωγατος α θορβιλιονι οφ. ματρε (94) ετ αβ ειοσκοι φιλιεις δομνεκα οφ. ετ δευτεριο υh. σσ ... (95) ... indιτωρεμος ειπσις πρεσεντεβους τεστις σοσκρ ... (96) ψι ετ σσ. πρετιο αυρι σολεδος κεντου δεκει ειεις εν πρ ... (97) εντια τραδετος υιδι.

(92) Julianus vh. Argentarius his instrumentis viginti jugerum (93) fundi Concordiacus rogatus a Thulgilone hf. matre (94) et ab ejusque filiis Domnica hf. et Deuterio vh. sstis (95) venditoribus ipsis præsentibus testis subscri-(96)psi et ss. pretium auri solidos centum decem eis in præs(97)entia traditos vidi.

No. 122, p. 187. Rome, in the Vatican.

Deed of Sale. A.D. 591. No facsimile.

(78) Πακειφικος Βh . εις εσορμεντις σεξ εν ιϋτριγρο ουνκειαρουμ φουνδι Γενεκειανι (79) σικοτ σουπεριως λεγιτορ ρογατος α σσ. Ρουσικειανα hφ. υενδετρικαι ειουσ(80)καε ιουγαλh Κειτανε Βd αυτουρε ed εσπονταneω φεδιιουσσουρε κοε (81) με πρεσεντε σιγνα φεικαερουμ ed εεις ρελικτο εστ τεστις σουσκριψι (82) ετ συνπραεσκριπτο πρεκειω αυρι σολιδος υειεντι κιυτουρ εεις εν πρε(83)σιντια Ιωαννε ΒΚ. Κονπαρατωρε ατνομιρατος ετ τραδιτος υειδι.

(78) Pacificus vh. his instrumentis sex in integro unciarum fundi Geneciani (79) sicut superius legitur rogatus a ssta. Rusticiana hf. venditrice ejus-(80)que jugale Tzitane vd. autore et spontaneo fidejussure qui (81) me præsente signa fecerunt et eis relictum est testis subscripsi (82) et suprascriptum precium auri solidos viginti quatuor eis in præ(83)sentia Iohanne vc. comparatore adnumeratos et traditos vidi.

The Latin A is here uniformly represented by *α*. But E, though generally *ε*, is often *η*, and very rarely *ι*, indicating not so much a wavering pronunciation of *ε*, *η*, *ι*, as an uncertain appreciation of the sound of the Latin *e*, confirmed by modern Italian usage. I is regularly *ι*, but not unfrequently *ει*; in *υιγενται* viginti (No. 114, line 92), if the transcription is to be trusted, *ι*, *ε*, *αι* all occur for *i*, and *ε* is also found occasionally, compare *υειεντι* (No. 122,

line 82); this again must be attributed to mishearing of the Latin. O is *ο*, *ω*, and rarely *ου*, for similar reasons. U is regularly *ου*, occasionally *ο*, *υ* in the words, *κοι*, *κυι*, for *qui*, and rarely *ω*. I have already recorded my opinion that the original sound of Greek *οι* was (úi), and Latin *oe* (ué), see Trans. Phil. Soc. 1867, supp. p. 65. Probably *αθκοιαι*=*atque* (No. 110, line 11) is Marini's misprint for *αθκουαι*. AE is generally *ε*, occasionally *αι*. AU is represented by *αυ* in *αυρι* = *auri*, No. 122, line 82, but it is still possible that the Greek said (abh·ri), as I heard a guide at Pompeii call *centauro* (tshentabh·ro), and compare *Ραυεννατη*=*Ravennatem*. The Greek *ει*, *οι* are written occasionally for *εῖ*, *οῖ*; compare *ειϛ*, *εειϛ* = *eis*, *ουειϛ οικ* =*huic*. Among the consonants *β* is used for Latin *v* =(bh)?, and *b*, but Latin *b* is also represented by *u* a special form of *υ*; *γ* is used for *g* which, however, occasionally falls into *ι*; *δ* is rather avoided, or receives a special form *d* for Latin *d*; *ζ* only occurs in one of the attempts *γαυζιοσο* to spell *Gaudioso*, and in *ακτζιο*, *δοματζιονεϛ* for *actio donationes*, which seem to indicate its present use in *τζ*, *ντζ* =(tsh, dzh), but observe the pure *t* in *πρεσιντια* = *præsentia*; *θ* is only used as a mispronunciation of *t*; *κ* universally represents *c*, indicating that the Latin letter had preserved its sound down to this period in Italy, as indeed the ags. use of *c* is sufficient to prove; *λ* = *l*; *μ* = *m*, but the *m* is often quite dropped when final, indicating the transition to the modern Italian *-o*, *-a*, from *-um*, *-am*, the accusative forms; *ν* = *n*, but *n* and *m* are much confused; *ξ* = *x*, *π* = *p*, *ρ* = *r*, *σ* = *s*, *τ* = *t*, *φ* = *f*, *χ* does not occur, *ψ* = *ps* as in *ηψου* = *ipso*, *σουσκριψι* = *subscripsi*, but *ειπσιϛ* = *ipsis*, is also found. The use of *σαντα* = *sancta*, seems to indicate a transition to the modern Italian *santa*, although *σακτα*, *σαnκτα* also occur, and the combinations *γγ*, *γκ* are not found.

The extremely recent date of the present pronunciation of Greek in England is not generally appreciated. In 1554 the present modern Greek pronunciation was regularly taught.[1] Sir Thomas

[1] See: Institutiones Lingvæ Græcæ; N. Clenardo Authore cum Scholijs P. Antesignani Rapistagnesis, Lugduni, 1554, in which the only pronunciation taught is that now usual at Athens. Compare also the passage in *Rabelais* —La vie de Garagantua et de Pantagruel. Book ii, chap. ix. (first edn. 1535), "Dont dist le compaignon: "Despota tinyn panagathe diati sy mi ouk artodotis? horas gar limo analiscomenon eme athlion, ke en to metaxy me ouk eleis oudamos, zetis de par emou ha ou chre. Ke homos philologi pantes homologousi tote logous te ke remata peritta hyparchin, opote pragma afto pasi delon esti. Entha gar anankeï monon logi isin, hina pragmata (hon peri amphisbetoumen), me prosphoros epiphente." Quoy? dist Carpalim lacquays de Pantagruel, c'est grec, je l'ay entendu. Et comment? as tu demeuré en Grece?" The Greek is thus restored in the edition of the Œuvres de Rabelais par Esmangart et Eloi Johanneau (Paris, 1823, 9 vols. 8vo.) vol. 3, p. 296. *Δέσποτα τοίνυν πανάγαθε, διὰ τὶ σύ μοι οὐκ ἀρτοδοτεῖς; ὁρᾷς γὰρ λιμῷ ἀναλισκόμενον ἐμὲ ἄθλιον, καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ με οὐκ ἐλεεῖς οὐδαμῶς· ζητεῖς δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἃ οὐ χρή. Καὶ ὅμως φιλολόγοι πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι τότε λόγους τε καὶ ῥήματα περιττὰ ὑπάρχειν ὁπότε πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ πᾶσι δηλόν ἐστιν. Ἔνθα γὰρ ἀναγκαῖοι μόνον λόγοι εἰσὶν, ἵνα πράγματα, ὧν πέρι ἀμφισβητοῦμεν, μὴ προσφόρως ἐπιφαίνηται.* Observe the retention of e for *η*; dialectically *σίδερον θερίον*, etc., are still found for *σίδηρον θηρίον*, etc., in Modern Greek.

Smith's theories were quite heretical in 1568, see suprà, p. 35, note 1, and he called *α, ε, η, ι, ο, ω, υ, αι, ει, αυ, ευ, ου, υι* (aa a, e, ee, ei *i*, o, oo, yy, ai, ei, au, eu, ou, wei), entirely ignoring the long sound of (ii) both in Latin and Greek. In the XVII th century *α, ι, υ, ει, αυ, ευ, ου*, became (ææ æ, ɔi *i*, iu, ɔi, AA, iu, ɔu), in the XVIII th *α, η*, became (ee, ii), and thus in one letter, *η*, the former pronunciation was restored. The extraordinary mispronunciation of Latin and Greek now prevalent in England, results from the application of our own changeable pronunciation to the fixed pronunciation of dead languages, and from the historical ignorance which assumes that a language may have only one pronunciation through the generations for which it lasts. We may never be able to recover the pronunciation, or appreciate the quantitative rhythm of the Athenian tragedians or of the Homeric rhapsodists, but we can read as Plutarch and as Lucian, and we should be satisfied with that privilege, remembering that if we pronounced these later authors otherwise than as the modern Greeks, we should certainly pronounce wrongly. It would indeed be just as absurd to read Lucian with the pronunciation of Aristophanes, as to read Tennyson with the pronunciation of Chaucer.[1]

[1] The following is Κοραῆ's eloquent apology for the modern Greek pronunciation in the preface to his edition of Isocrates, Paris, 1807. No one who is acquainted with ancient Greek will have any difficulty in reading it, and the English pronunciation of Greek is so mixed up with the history of our own pronunciation, that it is not out of place to give it here at length:— *Σώζονται πολλόταται ἐπιγραφαὶ παλαιαί, τῶν ὁποίων ἡ κακὴ γραφὴ ἀποδείχνει, ὅτι τῶν σημερινῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης ἡ προφορὰ εἶναι ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ προφορὰ, ἥτις ἦτον εἰς χρῆσιν κατὰ τοὺς καισαρικοὺς, καὶ ἴσως ἀνώτερα κατ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πτολεμαϊκοὺς χρόνους, ἤγουν κατ' ἐκείνην ὅλην τὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἔζησαν καθεξῆς ὁ Πολύβιος, ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς Διονύσιος, ὁ Σικελιώτης Διόδωρος, ὁ Στράβων, καὶ ἂν ἔλθωμεν κατωτέρω μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἑκατονταετηρίδος, Δίων ὁ Χρυσόστομος, ὁ Πλούταρχος, ὁ Ἀρριανὸς, ὁ Παυσανίας, ὁ Λουκιανὸς, ὁ Γαληνὸς, Σέξτος ὁ Ἐμπειρικὸς, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἀξιόλογοι συγγραφεῖς. "Ἐὰν ἦναι βάρβαρος ἡ σημερινὴ ἡμῶν προφορὰ, εἶν' ἐκεῖνοι ὄχ' ἡμεῖς οἱ αἴτιοι τῆς βαρβαρώσεως," ἐμποροῦμεν νὰ ἀποκρίνωμεν πρὸς τοὺς κατηγόρους, καὶ νὰ τοὺς παρακαλέσωμεν νὰ ὑποφέρωσιν μὲ μακροθυμίαν νὰ προφέρωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἐπρόφεραν ἐκεῖνοι. Στηρίζεται μάλιστα ἡ κατηγορία εἰς τον Ἰωτακισμὸν, ἤγουν τὴν ἐξανάγκης συμβαίνουσαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἤχου τοῦ Ἰῶτα συχνὴν ἐπανάληψιν, ὁπόταν καὶ αἱ δίφθογγοι* EI *καὶ* OI *προφέρωνται ὡς αὐτό. Ἀμφιβολία δὲν εἶναι ὅτι ἡ συχνὴ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ἐπανάληψις εἶναι φυσικὰ ἀηδής· ἀλλ' ὄχι διὰ τοῦτο πρέπει τις πάντοτε νὰ τὴν ἀποφεύγῃ μὲ περιεργίαν δεισιδαίμονα, ὅταν μάλιστα δὲν ἦναι σύμφωνα τὰ ἐπαναλαμβανόμενα στοιχεῖα; Παραδείγματος χάριν εἰς τὸν στίχον τοῦτον τοῦ Ὁμήρου (Ἰλιάδ. Ε. 222).*

Οἷοι Τρώϊοι ἵπποι, ἐπιστάμενοι πεδίοιο,

εὑρίσκεται ἐξάκις ἡ δίφθογγος OI. M' *ὅλον τοῦτο δὲν βλέπω διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν προφερόμενος κατὰ τὴν προφορὰν τῶν Γραικῶν,*

Ἰι Τρώϊι ἵππι, ἐπιστάμενι πεδίιο

ἤθελεν εἶσθαι εἰς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀηδέστερος παρὰ προφερόμενος, ὡς τὸν προφέρουσι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀλλογενεῖς Εὐρωπαίους.

δῖοϊ Τρώϊοϊ ἵπποϊ ἐπιστάμενοϊ πεδίοῖο

Σέξτος ὁ Ἐμπειρικὸς ὀνομάζει καθαρὰ τὰς διφθόγγους ταύτας στοιχεῖα, ἤγουν τὰς στοχάζεται ὡς ἁπλᾶ γράμματα εἰς τὴν προφοράν. [In a footnote the author says that Sextus lived A.D. 190, and cites a long passage from his *Πρὸς Γραμματικ. κεφ. ἑ*, § 117, *σελ.* 241, beginning: *Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ τοῦ* AI *καὶ* EI

After thus establishing the value of these transcriptions of the Septuagint into Anglosaxon characters for indicating the precise signification of the Anglosaxon vowels in the x th century, it may seem superfluous to cite Norman traditions in the XII th and XIII th, were there not always a certain amount of satisfaction in cumulative evidence. In Wace's Roman de Rou, which unfortunately exists only in later transcripts, and whose author probably always pronounced the despised Saxon most vilely, and certainly spelled it abominably, we find the following indications. Describing the conduct of the Saxons the night before the battle of Hastings, he says:

Mult les veissiez demener	E *laticome* e *drincheheil.*
Treper e saillir e chanter	*Drinc Hindrewart* e *Drintome*
Bufler e crier *welseil*	*Drinc Helf* e *drinc Tome.* v. 12471-6

which may perhaps be rendered: "You might see them much sporting, gamboling, leaping, singing, joking,[1] and crying *Wæs hæl*, and *Læt hit cuman*, and *Drinc hæl*, *Drinc Hindweard*, and *Drinc to me*, *Drinc healf* and *Drink to me*." In this *Wæs hæl* and *Drinc hæl* are well known, and we must not be surprised at finding Norman *ei* for ags. *æ*, a strange sound, when Orrmin shews *beggtenn* for ags. *beatan* (suprà p. 489). *Drink to me*, remains in our language.

φθόγγος ἁπλοῦς ἐστι καὶ μονοειδής, ἔσται καὶ ταῦτα στοιχεῖα, and proceeding very distinctly to shew that by this expression he excluded the conception of diphthongs.] Καὶ ἂν τοῦτο δὲν ἀποδείχνῃ ὅτι εἰς τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ Σέξτου ἡ προφορὰ δὲν ἦτο φθαρμένη, ἱκανὸν εἶναι νὰ δείξῃ, ὅτι εἰς τοὺς χρόνους του δὲν ὑπωπτεύετο κανεὶς, ὅτι οἱ ὀλίγας ἑκατονταετηρίδας προγενέστεροι εἶχαν προφορὰν διάφορον. Μήτ' ἐξεύρω, μήτε νὰ μάθω μὲ μέλει, πῶς ἐπρόφερεν ὁ Ισοκράτης, ὁ Πλάτων, ὁ Δημοσθένης, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἤκμασαν εἰς αὐτὴν τῆς γλώσσης τὴν ἀκμήν· καὶ, ὅταν ὑπερασπίζω τὴν σημερινὴν προφορὰν, δὲν διϊσχυρίζομαι ὅτι προφέρομεν ἀπαραλλάκτως ὡς ἐκεῖνοι, ἐπειδὴ πιθανὸν εἶναι νὰ ἐσυνέβη καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικήν, ὅ,τι συμβαίνει εἰς ὅλα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἔργα καὶ ποιήματα. Τοῦτο μόνον ἀδιστάκτως πιστεύω ὅτι ἂν ἡ προφορὰ τῆς γλώσσης ἠλλοιώθη, νὰ τὴν ἀποκαταστήσῃ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν αὐτῆς φύσιν δὲν εἶναι καλὸς παρὰ μόνοι οἱ ὁποῖοι τὴν ἐλάλουν καὶ τὴν ἔγραφον ὡς μητρικὴν αὐτῶν γλῶσσαν. Ἕως νὰ ἀναβιώσωσιν ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς συγχωρημένον εἶναι νὰ προφέρωμεν, ὡς τὴν ἐπρόφερεν ὁ βάρβαρος Σέξτος, ὁ ἀγράμματος Πλούταρχος, ὁ ἀμαθέστατος Γαληνὸς, καὶ οἱ ἀλλογενεῖς Ἑλληνισταὶ φιλοσοφώτερον ἤθελαν πράξει, ἂν ἔπεμπον καὶ τὴν προφορὰν τοῦ Ἐράσμου ὅπου ἔπεμπον πολλὰς ἄλλας προλήψεις, τώρα μάλιστα εἰς τὴν ἀναγέννησιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὁπόταν μὲ τὴν ὁμοφωνίαν τῆς προφορᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἀδιάκοπον παράθεσιν τῆς παλαιᾶς μὲ τὴν νέαν γλῶσσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τὰς ἀκόμη δειλὰς ἡμῶν παρατηρήσεις, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τὰς σοφὰς αὐτῶν σημειώσεις ἠθέλαμεν μεγάλως ὠφεληθῆ εἰς τὴν κατανόησιν τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων.

[1] I adopt the reading of the Duchesne MS. cited by Pluquet, since the reading in his text "*Bublie* crient e *weissel*" is unintelligible. *Bufler* is from "*buffe*, *buffet*, *buffle*: coup de poing, soufflet, tape; *buffa*, en Ital. *buffettone*; en Basq. *bufeta*; en Languedocien *bufa*," (Roquefort); whence English *buffet*, compare Italian *buffo*, whence our *buffoon*. Compare also the Norfolk *buffle*, to handle clumsily, to speak thickly and inarticulately (Nall), to abuse, to rate soundly (as I am informed by Mr. Waring); also German *Büffel*, buffalo, buff, lout (compare *Ochs* for a fool) and *büffeln* to drudge (Hilpert). Whether *bufler* is a Norman word adopted into English, or an English word Normanized — compare the modern French *boxer*, to box—it is impossible to determine in the absence of parallel passages. It seems here to imply rough joking.

Perhaps *Læt hit cuman*, is a good wish, may you have what you want, and the drinking *hindweard* and *healf*, may refer to some customs such as still prevail among those who, making an art of toping, such as standing back to back and giving each to drink from the other's cup, or both drinking from the same bowl, etc. The passage is, however, not of much service phonetically, and the Anglosaxon words are doubtful. The following are better:

Olicrosse sovent crioent,
E *Godemite* reclamoent:
Olicrosse est en engleiz
Ke sainte Croix est en franceiz,
E *Godemite* altretant
Com en frenceiz Dex tot poissant.
v. 13119-24.

Hence *Olicrosse* = *Hálig Cross*, which looks like an error for *Ród*, and *Godemite* is *God Almihtig*. The former would incline to a very broad pronunciation of *á* as (AA), and perhaps arose from the subsequent southern *holy*. The latter might imply that long *i* was (ii), and certainly that they did not pronounce *almighty* as at present; but as the vowel was certainly short in *miht*, we do not gain much, except to learn that this form coexisted with Orrmin's *Allmahhtiȝ*. The form *Godelamit* occurs in the singular poem called *La Pais aux Englois*, attributed to A.D. 1263, which ridicules English French in an orthography difficult to comprehend.[1]

Normanz escriént: Dex aie;
La gent englesche: *Ut* s'escrie. v. 13193
Con est l'ensegne que jou di
Quant Engles saient *hors* a cri.

The two last lines are an addition to the text of Pluquet, taken from MS. 6987, Bib. Roy. de Paris (E. Taylor's translation, p. 191), and imply that *ut* = ags. *ut*, and therefore fixes the traditional pronunciation as (uut), which is of some value. The *Man* of v. 109, and *Zoonee* of v. 10659 (suprà, p. 461, note col. 1) are useless.

Marie de France belonged to quite the beginning of the XIIIth century, and we have the advantage of an indubitably early manuscript of much of her poetry.[2] In her lai de *Laustic* (Roquefort 1, 315, Harl. MS. 978, fo. 142), which Roquefort explains as intended for a Breton word, meaning a nightingale, she says:

Lauſtic ad nun ceo meſt auiſ
Sil apelent en lur paiſ
Ceo eſt reiſun en franceiſ
E nihtegale en dreit engleiſ. v. 3.

[1] See Journal de l' Institute Historique, Première Anné, 1834, p. 363, for which reference I am indebted to the kindness of M. Francisque Michel. In this poem *roi* is uniformly spelled *rai*, and *foire* rhymes to *Ingletiere*, *guere*, *conquerre*, which seems to militate against the view I have taken on p. 453, and at least shews that (feer·e) was a presumed Anglo-Norman pronunciation at the time, but whether it was the only or general value, or whether this may not be due to the author's pronunciation, or to the Poitevin dialect to which the editor attributes the piece, it is difficult for any one to determine, who knows the inconsistent way in which dialectic or foreign pronunciation is still represented orthographically, e.g. Burns's Scotch. No doubt can be felt as to the presumed rhyming word *faire* (p. 449), after seeing Orrmin's orthography faȝȝerr, p. 489.

[2] The Harl. 978 described suprà, p. 419. The Fables of Esop there named are by Marie de France, and many of her lays occur in the latter part of the same MS. See: Poèsies de Marie de France, poète Anglo-normand du XIIIe siècle, par *B. de Roquefort*, Paris, 1819, 2 vols. 8vo. I am indebted to Mr. Payne for having drawn my attention to the transcription of English in her

In the lai de *Chevrefoil* (Roq., 1, 388, Harl. MS. 978, fo. 148*b*), we find:

En ſuhtwales .v. il fu nez v, 16. Gotelef lapelent en engleif
En cornwaille uait tut dreit. v. 27. Cheurefoil le nument en *franceis*. v. 115

In the lai de *Milun* (Roq. 1, 328) we find Suhtwales v. 9, Irlande 15, Norweie 16, Guhtlande 16, Suhthamptune 318, Northumbre 453. In the lai *d'Ywenec* (Roq. 1, 274), we have Incolne = *Lincoln* v. 26, and Yllande = *Ireland*, v. 27. In the Fables (Roq. 2, 141, Harl. MS. 978, fo. 53*b*), we have:

Si ad ure ke li uileinſ Lung cum li witecocs aueit.
Euſt tel bek mut li plereit v. 18-20

where Roquefort cites the variants: huitecox, widecos, witecoc, which all seem to mean *whitecock*, an unknown bird, but as Norman *ui* was probably not so truly (uí) as (úi), or according to Mr. Payne (uu), p. 424, n. 3, and certainly often replaced (uu), p. 458, l. 27, these may mean (úit·ekok, uut·ekok), that is (wuud·ekok), ags. wuducocc (Ettm. 86), English woodcock, with an omitted (w) before (uu), p. 420, note, col. 2. These words give (aa a, ee e, ii i, oo o, uu) as Marie de France's appreciation of the sounds of the Anglosaxon, or XII th century English *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*.

In order to see at a glance the different opinions that prevail respecting the values of the Anglo-saxon letters, a table has been annexed on p. 534, giving also the views of Rask, Grimm, and Rapp.[1] Neither Rask nor Rapp give any illustrations, though Rapp writes a few isolated words.[2] But as we have ventured to give a theoretical representation of the values of the letters, symbolizing of course different pronunciations according as they are used in different combinations to express the very distinct dialects which prevailed at the time, it is necessary to shew the effect of this theory, by attempting the phonetic representation of a short passage. The parable of the Prodigal Son,[3] has been selected for this purpose, and will be hereafter presented in Icelandic (No. 2), Gothic (No. 3),

and Wace's poems. It is true that her transliterations of English rather represent the pronunciation of the XIII th century, than of Anglosaxon, and should, properly speaking, have been adduced on p. 462, but as I was not aware of them till after that sheet was printed off, I am glad to have this opportunity of inserting them.

[1] *E. Rask*, Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, translated from the Danish by B. Thorpe, Copenhagen, 1830, pp. 6-15. *J. Grimm*, D. G. I³, 325-378, for vowels, and I², 243-269 or consonants, but the indications are often so indistinct, that much doubt is to be attached to the following interpretations. Grimm proceeds from an etymological, rather than a phonetic conception. *K. M. Rapp*, Phys. d. Spr. ii, 140-149, iv, 245, Vergleichende Grammatik, vol. 3 (1859), pp. 125-129.

[2] This being contrary to his usual custom he explains by saying: "Da dieser Dialekt noch zu gar keinem festen Resultate über die Kritik der Buchstaben gelangt ist, sind wir weit entfernt, mit dahin einschlagenden Sprachproben uns zu befassen."

[3] Þa halgan Godspel on Englisc. The Anglo-Saxon version of the holy Gospels, edited from the original manuscripts by Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A., London, 1842, 8vo. pp. 240. "The basis of the present text is the Cod. Bibl. Pub. Cant. Ii. 2, 11, collated with Cod. C. C. C. C. S. 4. 140. In doubtful cases Cod. Bodl. 441. and Cod. Cott. Otho, C. 1, have also been consulted."—*Preface*.

the Wycliffite version (Chap. VII., § 3), for the sake of comparison. The translation at the foot of the page is intended to point out the grammatical construction, and the etymological relations of each word to the English, and would be therefore scarcely intelligible if the passage were not so well known.

Letters	Rask	Grimm	Rapp	Ellis	Letters	Rask	Grimm	Rapp	Ellis
á	*aa*	aa	*aa*	*aa*	í	ii	ii	ii	ii
a	a	*a*	a	*a* a	i	*i*	i	i	*i*
ǽ	ææ	ææ	ææ	ææ	ie	Jee	ie ié		ie ?
æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	iu	Juu			iu ?
aw	au			au	l		l	l	l
b		b		b	m		m	m	m
c	k	k	k	k *k*	n		n	n	n
cg	gg			g	ng				q qg
cw		kbh		k*w*	ó	*oo*	*oo*	*oo*	oo
d	d	d	d	d	o	o	o *o*	o	o
ð	dh	ds	th	dh	p		p	p	p
é	ee	*ee*	ee	ee	r		r	r	r
e	*e*	e *e*	e *e*	e	s		s	sj	s
ea	Jaa Ja	ea eá	*ea* ea	ea e*á*	sc	sk *sk*	sk		sk s*k*
eo	Joo Jo	eo eó	*eo* eo	eo eó	t		t	t	t
f	f v	f	f	f v	þ	th	ths	th	th
g	g *g* J	g	g J	g *g*	ú	uu	uu	uu	uu
				gh *gh*	u	*u*	u	u	u *u* ?
h	H' kh	H	kh	H H' kh	w		bh	bh	w
hl			khl	lh	wl				l*w*
hn			khn	nh	wr				r*w*
hr			khr	rh	ý	yy	yy	yy	yy ii
hw			khw	wh	y	y	y	y	y *i*

Anglosaxon, Lucas 15, 11-32.

11 Soðlice sum man hæfde twegen suna.

12 Ða cwæð se gingra [*Thorpe*, yldra] to his fæder, Fǽder, syle me minne dæl minre æhte þe me to gebyreð. Ða dælde he hym hys æhte.

13 Ða, æfter feawa dagum, ealle his þing gegaderode se gingra sunu, and ferde wræclice on feorlen ríce, and forspilde þar his æhta, lybbende on his gǽlsan.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

11 Soodh·liike sum man HÆV·de tweegh·en sun·a.

12 Thaa kwædh se ghiq·ra to HIS fæd·er, Fæd·er, syl·e me miin·e dæl miin·re ækht·e thee me too·gebyr·edh. Thaa dææld·e HE HIM HIS æækht·e.

13 Thaa, æft·er fea·wa dagh·um, eal·e HIS thiq gegad·erode se ghiq·ra sun·u, and fer·de rwæk·liike on feor·len riik·e, and forspil·de thaar HIS æækht·a, lyb·ende on HIS gææl·san.

Verbatim Translation, Luke 15, 11-32.

11 Soothly some man had twain sons.

12 Then quoth the younger to his father, Father, sell (give) me mine deal (part) of-mine owning that me to belongeth. Then dealed he him his owning.

13 Then, after few days, all his things gathered the younger son, and fared banished-like (abroad) on far kingdom, and for-spilled (lost) there his ownings, living on his luxury.

14 Ða he hig hæfde ealle amyrrede, þa wearð mycel hunger on þam ríce; and he wearð wædla.

15 Ða ferde he and folgode ánum burh-sittendum men þæs ríces: þa sende he hine to his tune, þæt he heolde hys swyn.

16 Ða gewilnode he his wambe gefyllan of þam beancoddum þe ða swyn æ̈ton: and him man ne sealde.

17 Ða beþohte he hine, and cwæð, Eala hu fela yrðlinga on mines fæder huse hláf genohne habbað, and ic her on hungre forweorðe!

18 Ic aríse, and ic fare to mínum fæder, and ic secge him,

19 Eála fæder, ic syngode on heofenas, and beforan þe, nu ic neom wyrðe þæt ic beo þin sunu nemned: do me swa ænne of þinum yrðlingum.

20 And he aras þa, and com to his fæder. And þa gyt, þa he wæs feor his fæder, he hyne geseah, and wearð mid mildheortnesse astyred, and agen hine árn, and hine beclypte, and cyste hine.

14 Th*aa* he h*i*gh hæv·de eal·e amyr·ede th*aa* weardh m*i*k·el h*u*q·er on th*a*m ri*i*k·e; *a*nd he weardh wæd·la.

15 Th*aa* fer·de he *a*nd fol·ghode *aa*n·um b*u*rk*w*h-s*i*t·end*u*m men thæs ri*i*k·es: th*aa* send·e he h*i*n·e to h*i*s tuu·ne, thæt he heold·e h*i*s swiin.

16 Th*aa* gew*i*l·node he h*i*s w*a*m·be gefyl·an of th*a*m bean·kod·um thee tha swiin ææt·on: and h*i*m m*a*n ne seal·de.

17 Th*aa* bethokht·e he h*i*n·e, *a*nd k*w*æth, Eá·la, huu fel·a yrdh·l*i*qa on mii·nes fæd·er huu·se lh*aa*f genookh·ne h*a*b·ath, *a*nd *i*k heer on h*u*q·re forweor·dhe!

18 *I*k arii·se, *a*nd *i*k f*a*r·e to mii·n*u*m fæd·er, *a*nd *i*k se*g*·e h*i*m,

19 Eá·la fæd·er, *i*k syn·gode on heo·venas, *a*nd befor·an thee, nuu *i*k neom wyrdh·e thæt *i*k beo thiin s*u*n·u nem·ned: doo me sw*aa* æn·e of thii·num yrth·l*i*qum.

20 *A*nd he ar*aa*s· th*aa*, *a*nd koom to h*i*s fæd·er. And th*aa* *gh*it th*aa* he wæs feor h*i*s fæd·er, he h*i*n·e geseakh· *a*nd weardh m*i*d m*i*ld-heort·nese astir·ed, *a*nd agen· h*i*n·e *a*rn, *a*nd h*i*n·e beklyp·te, *a*nd kys·te h*i*n·e.

Verbatim Translation.

14 Then (when) he them had all dissipated, then worth (became) muckle hunger on that kingdom; and he worth (became) destitute.

15 Then fared he and followed one borough-sitting man of-that kingdom: then sent he him to his town (inclosure), that he might hold his swine.

16 Then desired he his womb (belly) to-fill of (with) the bean-cods that the swine ate; and to-him man not sold (gave).

17 Then bethought he him, and quoth, Oh! how many earthlings (farmers) on mine father's house, loaf (bread) enough have, and I here on hunger forth-worth (perish).

18 I arise and I fare to mine father, and I say to him,

19 Oh! father, I sinned on heavens, and before thee, now I not-am worthy that I be thine son named: do to-me as to-one of thine earthlings (farmers).

20 And he arose then, and came to his father. And then yet, then (while) he was far-from his father, he him saw, and worth (became) with mildheartiness a-stirred, and again him ran, and him be-clipped (embraced), and kissed him.

21 Ðа cwæð his sunu, Fæder, ic syngode on heofen, and beforan þe, nu ic ne eom wyrðe þæt ic þin sunu beo genemned.

22 Ðа cwæð se fæder to his þeowum, Bringað raðe þone selestan gegyrelan, and scryðað hine; and syllað him hring on his hand, and gescý to his fotum;

23 And bringað an fætt stýric, and ofsleað; and uton etan, and gewistfullian:

24 forþam þes min sunu wæs dead, and he geedcucode; he forwearð, and he ys gemet. Ðа ongunnon hig gewistlæcan.

25 Soðlice his yldra sunu wæs on æcere; and he cóm: and þa he þam huse genealæhte, he gehyrde þone sweg and þæt wered.

26 Ðа clypode he ænne þeow, and acsode hine hwæt þæt wære.

27 Da cwæð he, þin broðer com, and þin fæder ofsloh án fætt ceálf; forþam he hine halne onfeng.

28 Ðа gebealh he hine, and nolde ingán: þa eode his fæder út, and ongan hine biddan.

21 Th*aa* k*w*æth H*i*s s*u*n·u, Fæd·er *i*k syn·gode on HEO·ven, *a*nd befor·an thee, nuu *i*k ne eom wyrdh·e dhæt *i*k thiin s*u*n·u beo genem·ned.

22 Th*aa* k*w*æth se fæd·er to H*i*s theo·w*u*m, Br*i*q·adh r*aa*dh·e thon·e see·lestan gegyr·elan, *a*nd skryyd·adh H*i*n·e, *a*nd syl·adh H*i*m rh*i*q on H*i*s H*a*nd, *a*nd ges*k*yy· to his foo·t*u*m:

23 *a*nd br*i*q·adh *aa*n fæt styy·ri*k*, *a*nd of·sleadh·; *a*nd uu·ton et·an, *a*nd gew*i*st·f*u*l·ian:

24 forth*a*m· thes miin s*u*n·u wæs dead, and he ge,edkuu·kode; HE forweardh·, and HE *i*s gemect·. Th*aa* on·g*u*n·on H*i*gh gew*i*st·lææ·*k*an.

25 Soodh·lii*k*e H*i*s yld·ra s*u*n·u wæs on æk·ere; *a*nd HE koom; *a*nd th*aa* HE th*a*m huu·se genea·læækhte, HE gehyrd·e thon·e swee*g*h and thæt wer·ed.

26 Th*aa* klyp·ode HE æn·e théou, and aks·ode H*i*n·e whæt thæt wææ·re.

27 Th*aa* k*w*ædh HE, Thiin broo·dher koom, and thiin fæd·er of·slookh· *aa*n fæt ke*á*lf: forth*a*m· HE H*i*n·e H*aa*l·ne on·feq·.

28 Th*aa* gebeal*k*h· HE H*i*n·e and nold·e *i*n·g*aa*n·: th*aa* eo·de H*i*s fæd·er uut, *a*nd on·g*a*n· H*i*n·e b*i*d·an.

Verbatim Translation.

21 Then quoth his son, Father, I sinned on heaven, and before thee, now I not am worthy that I thine son be named.

22 Then quoth the father to his thanes (servants). Bring rathe (quickly) the best garment, and shroud (clothe) him, and sell (give) him a-ring on his hand, and shoes to his feet,

23 and bring one fat steer, and slaughter; and let us eat and feast,

24 for-that (because) this mine son was dead, and he again-quickened; he forth-worth (perished), and he is met. Then began they to-feast.

25 Soothly his elder son was on acre; and he came, and then (while) he to-the house neared, he heard the music and the company,

26 Then cleped (called) he one thane (servant) and asked him what that were.

27 Then quoth he, Thine brother came, and thine father slaughtered one fat calf; for-that he him whole fanged (received).

28 Then was-wrathful-at he him and not-would go-in: then went his father out, and began him to-bid.

29 Ða cwæð he, his fæder andswariende, Efne, swa fela geara ic þe þeowode, and ic næfre þin bebod ne forgymde, and ne sealdest þu me næfre án ticcen, þæt ic mid minum freondum gewistfullode:

30 ac syððan þes þin sunu com, þe hys spéde mid myltrystrum amyrde, þu ofsloge him fætt cealf.

31 Ða cwæð he, Súnu, þu eart symle mid me, and ealle mine þing synd þíne: þe gebyredo gewistfullian and geblissian: forþam þes þin broþer wæs deád, and he geedcucode; he forwearð, and he ys gemet.

29 Th*aa* k*w*æth he, h*i*s fæd·er andsw*a*r·iende, Eev·ne swa fel·a *g*hea·ra *i*k the theo·wode; *a*nd *i*k næv·re thiin bebod· ne for*g*hyym·de, and ne seal·dest thuu mee næv·re *aa*n t*i*k·en, thæt *i*k m*i*d miin·*u*m freon·d*u*m gew*i*st·f*u*l·ode:

30 *a*k siidh·an thes thiin s*u*n·u koom, thee his spee·de m*i*d mil·tristr*u*m amyrd·e thuu of·sloo*g*h·e h*i*m fæt *ke*ál*f*.

31 Th*aa* k*w*ædh he, S*u*n·u, thuu eart sim·le m*i*d mee, *a*nd eal·e miine th*i*q s*i*nd thii·ne: thee gebyr·ede gew*i*st·f*u*l·ian *a*nd gebl*i*s·ian forth*a*m· thes thiin broo·dher wæs dead *a*nd ge,ed-kuu·kode; he forweardh·, and he *i*s gemeet·.

Verbatim Translation.

29 Then quoth he, his father answering, Lo! so many years I thee thaned (served), and I never thine bidding not neglected, and not soldest (gavest) thou me never one kid, that I with my friends feasted:

30 Eke (but) sithens (since) this thine son came, that his speed (property) with mistresses lost, thou slaughterest for-him fat calf.

31 Then quoth he, Son, thou art ever with me, and all mine things are thine; to-thee belonged to-feast and to-bliss; for-that this thine brother was dead, and he again-quickened; he forth-worth (perished), and he is met.

2. Icelandic and Old Norse.

In the IX th century, Iceland was discovered and colonised by the Scandinavians. The writing at first used was runic, but Roman Christianity and Roman letters, which seem to have always gone hand in hand, were introduced in the XI th century, and MSS. of the XII th and XIII th centuries still exist. The sea usually unites; but large tracts of dangerous wintry sea, and a climate which for months in the year closes the harbours, separate. The Icelandic colonizers were so separated from their native country that their tongue was practically unaffected by the causes which divided it on the continent into two, mutually unintelligible, literary languages, the Danish and Swedish, and the numerous unwritten Norwegian dialects.[1] In Iceland, therefore, we have the strange

[1] "On the older Runic stones altogether the same tongue is found in all three kingdoms, and in the oldest laws of each people very nearly the same. This tongue occurs first under the denomination Dönsk túnga (Dœnsk tuuq·ga) because Denmark was in the oldest times the mightiest kingdom.... But the Old Norse began also first to decay in Denmark, and therefore took the name Norræna (Nor·raa*i*·na), because it was probably spoken best and most purely in Norway .... Before the Union of Calmar [between Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, 1397], it was materially changed both in Sweden

spectacle of a living medieval tongue, with all its terminations, inflections, and vowel changes, whether of mutation (*Umlaut*) or progression (*Lautverschiebung*), practically unchanged, and in daily use. The language of the oldest MSS. scarcely differs from that of the most modern printed books as much as that of Chaucer from that of Shakspere. Practically the study of Icelandic is the study of the language spoken by those fierce invaders of our Eastern coasts, whose tongue has so powerfully and permanently affected all our Eastern and Northern dialects. It is, therefore, of extreme interest to all students of dialectic or early English.[1] But its orthographic laws are so different from those with which we are familiar, and many of its sounds are so singular,—living remnants of habits which seem to have been widely diffused in the x th century, but which have become lost, and generally misunderstood in modern times—that a careful examination and explanation of their nature is necessary. As no treatise has as yet appeared which conveys satisfactory information, I have availed myself of the kindness of Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon,[2] who, to a perfect knowledge of his native tongue joins a long and familiar acquaintance with the language and pronunciation of England, and who has taken the greatest pains to enable me to render the following account as complete and trustworthy as possible.[3] Whether the actual pronunciation of Icelandic is or is not the same as that in use in the x th century, it is not easy to determine. The antecedent probability

and Norway; then arose the name *íslenska* (iis·lenska) which the tongue has kept to the present day."—*Rask*, Gram. art. 518. "From the North the same tongue was spread over the Ferro, Orkney, Shetland, and Western Isles, and from Iceland to the coast of Greenland: but the old Greenland has been now for a long time lost, and since the Scottish Isles were joined to Scotland, the Old Norse language has given way to the New English. On the Ferro Isles a dialect is still spoken, which comes very near to the Icelandic, but is of little interest since it has no literature except some popular songs." —Ibid. Art. 520. These songs were published with a Danish translation by Lyngbye, Randers, 1822 (Dasent's note). See also Ivar Aasen's Dictionary of the Dialects of Norway.

[1] Prof. Th. Möbius's Analecta Norrœna, and Altnordisches Glossar, recently published, will be found useful for students who are acquainted with German. The glossary extends to several other selections named in the preface. A uniform modern orthography is adopted in all the extracts, but carefully printed specimens of the orthography adopted in ancient manuscripts are given in an appendix. A grammar is to follow, and in the meantime, Dasent's Rask's Grammar may be used. The following are Icelandic Dictionaries of repute, which have superseded Biörn Haldorson's Lexicon Islandico-Danicum, edited by Rask, Copenhagen, 1814, 2 vols., 4to. Sveinbjörn Egilsson, Lexicon Poeticum antiquæ Linguæ Septentrionalis, Copenhagen, 1840, 8vo. pp. 932. Erik Jonsson, Oldnordisk Ordbog, Copenhagen, 1863, 8vo. Fritzner, Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog, Christiania, 1867.

[2] Editor of the revised edition of the Icelandic Version of the Bible for the British and Foreign Bible Society, author of Legends of Iceland, and translator of various sagas.

[3] Mr. Henry Sweet, of the Philological Society, having acquired the pronunciation of Icelandic from another teacher, Mr. Hjaltalín, I requested him to inform me where his impressions differed from mine. The observations which he has been kind enough to furnish, are added in the shape of footnotes, signed H. S.

is that there are differences, and with respect to *y* this probability amounts almost to a certainty. But Rask, Rapp, and Grimm[1] differ most materially in their views, and as they cannot all be right, it is very likely they are all wrong. None of them seem to have pursued a satisfactory course for arriving at the truth, which would require a long study of the phonetic relations of existing dialects in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, the careful examination of ancient manuscripts, of rhymes and assonances, and of the internal phonetic relations of the language itself. Mr. Henry Sweet having carried out this programme to a great extent, has obligingly furnished me with his own views on the subject, which I have appended to a tabular account of the opinions of Rask, Rapp, and Grimm, at the close of this section. It is first necessary to ascertain existing usage.

Icelandic now possesses eight simple vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *í*, *o*, *ö*, *u*, *ú* =(a, e, *i*, i, o, œ, *ə*, u) either short or long, the shortening being generally indicated by two following consonants, or a doubled consonant. The letters *ý y* are at present identical with *í*, *i*. It has also six diphthongs; namely, three *i* diphthongs, *æ au*, *ei* or *ey*, the two last being at present identical = (aa*i*, œœ*i*, *eei*); two *u* diphthongs, *á*, *ó* = (aau, *oo*u), the great peculiarity of all these diphthongs being the importance of the first element, and the brevity of the second, which in the case of *ei*, *ó* amounts to that faint indication of an (i, u) heard in the English *day*, *know* (d*ee*'j, n*oo*'*w*), in Icelandic letters *dei*, *nó;* and one acknowledged diphthong with (i) prefixed, *é* or *è* as it is now written, and which might with equal propriety be written *je*, for in fact there are numerous other diphthongs of the same class, now written with a prefixed *j*, but formerly written with a prefixed *i*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *h*, *j*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v* = (b, d, н, ɹ, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v) almost invariably; *f* varies between (f, v) and sometimes (b, m); *k*, *g* are properly (k, g) but are often palatalised to (*k*, *g*), and *g* takes all guttural phases of (gh, *g*h, ɹh; g*w*h, *w*h), down to (ɹ, w), and complete disappearance; *c* used to be employed in the combination *ck* only, and *q* in the combination *qv*, but as neither *c* or *q* belong to the language, they have been both superseded by *k*; *x* is occasionally used for *ks*, or *gs*; and z is employed for the sound of *s* before which a dental has been omitted, but not very consistently. The old letters þ, ð are retained as (th, dh), although *d* is often employed for ð in older printed books. The combinations *hj*, *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, *hv* are called (ɹh, lh, nh, rh, wh). The double letters *ll*, *nn* are mostly (dl, dn) when medial, and (tlh, tnh) or (dtlh, dtnh) when final. In the doubled *tt*, the first *t* indicates an assimilated guttural, which however is generally more or less heard. The following is a particular alphabetical account of the behaviour of each letter and principal combination.

[1] A Grammar of the Icelandic or Old Norse Tongue, translated from the Swedish of *Erasmus Rask* by G. W. Dasent, London, Pickering; Frankfort, Jaeger, 1843. The Swedish title is: Anvisning till Isländskan eller Nordiska Fornspråket, af Erasmus Christian Rask. Från Danskan öfver-

Icelandic Alphabet.

A, distinctly (aa, a), not so low as (*aa*, *a*), and never rounded to (*a*h), but occasionally as high as (aah, ah), though this may be an individual peculiarity, and was certainly unintentional.[1] Most of the words cited by Grimm as having short (a) are now pronounced with long (aa). Ex. hann (HAN) *he*, alt (alht) *all*, hafðdi (HAV·dhi), landið (land*i*dh) *the land*; drafi (draav·i) *husks*, matar (maa·tar) *meat* = *food*, taka (taa·ka) *take*, maður (maa·dhər) *man*;[2] sagði (saah⌊gh·dhi)[3] *said*. In unaccented syllables, where open or closed, the short *a* is general.

Á, a clear diphthong (aau), with the first element predominant, and the final short, and thus distinguished from the German *au* (au). Not (ao, a*o*) as suggested by Rapp. Never (AA), but confounded occasionally with *o* in MSS, with which compare the Welch confusion of *aw*, *o* (au, oo). When á is final and emphatic there seems to be an inclination to sound after it a whispered *ú* ('u), or the labio-gutturals (wh, g*w*h), just slightly touched, as *á* (aau⌊wh) river, *fá* (faau⌊wh). Before a doubled letter the first element is somewhat shortened, and before doubled *t*, the guttural is decidedly touched, as *átti* (au⌊k*w*ht·ti) *had*, but the whole combination is spoken with extreme brevity.

Æ, the diphthong (aai), taken by Rapp as (a*e*), from his inability to appreciate (*i*); distinct therefore from German *ei*, *ai* (ai). There is an unacknowledged tendency to develop a palato-guttural sound, as (J, Jh, *g*h, *k*h), after *æ*, when final, or before a vowel, as: æ (aai⌊Jh) *aye ever*, æa (aai·Ja) *to cry for pain*. And before two consonants or a doubled consonant, the first element is shortened, as: ætla (ai·tla) *to think* ættir (ai·tir) *oughtest*.

AU sounds to me as the diphthong (œœ*i*), scarcely differing from the French *œil* on the one hand and the Dutch *ui* on the other. Rask refers the Icelandic sound to the German *eu*, as Dr. Gehle did the Dutch (suprà p. 235, n. 1, and p. 295, n. 1), and Rapp, as I understand him, says that Rask pronounced the diphthong *au* as (œə), which pronunciation seems to furnish the key to the orthography, for *a* changes its sound by *Umlaut* to *e* through a following *i*, and to ö (œ) through a following *u* (ə), as: faðir, föður (faa·dhir, fœœ·dhər). This organic law of change was probably the cause why *au* was written for ö in old MSS. quasi, *a* as altered by the influence of *u*, and the same spelling was also used for *öu* (œœə) most naturally. Now since (ə) is often confounded with (y), and (y), when brief, is easily confounded with (*i*), we see how *au* might

satt och omarbetad af Författaren, 1818. Physiologie der Sprache von Dr. *K. M. Rapp*, vol. 2 (1839), pp. 128-139, vol. 4 (1841) p. 246. Vergleichende Grammatik, vol. 3, (1859), pp. 39-41. Deutsche Grammatik von *Jacob Grimm*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., 1840, pp. 421-495, 2nd ed. 1822, pp. 280-330.

[1] Decidedly (ah) in unaccented syllables, and in accented intermediate to (ah) and (a).—H.S. Is this sound (a⊢)?

[2] Compare the Norfolk *mawther*, a girl, and the observation in Nall's Glossary. This Icelandic word was formerly *mannr*, modern Danish *mand*.

[3] For the use of ⌊ to signify a scarcely audible utterance of the following element, see suprà, p. 419, note, col. 1.

come to be (œœə, œœy, œœi), and, in the present absence of (y) from the language, would naturally rest in (œœi). The German *eu* is very variously pronounced (suprà p. 321, note 2). Rask must have alluded to the somewhat rare (əy) sound, which he heard as (œy). If the view here taken be correct, the sound (œə) was probably the oldest form of this diphthong, and the antiquity of the (ə) sound of *u*, is also rendered probable.[1] Ex. hlaup (lhœœip) *course*, lauf (lœœiv) *leaf*, skaut (skœœit) *lap*, kaupa (kœœi·pa) *buy*.

B is always (b).

C is "used by old writers indiscriminately with *k*, especially at the end of monosyllables. It is now used only in *ck* for *kk*, but many write *kk* and thus shut *c* entirely out of the language, a custom which is already (1818) old, though not general."—*Rask*.

D is always intended to be (d) according to the present orthography, but in older printed matter it also stood for ð. It is found only at the beginning of words and syllables, and after *l*, *n*, *m*, and *d*. It is occasionally written when not pronounced, as: syndga (*sin*·ga) *to sin*.

Đ is precisely the English (dh), but never occurs initially in Icelandic, where it is found in place of (d), after vowels and *r*, *f*, *g*, and "in old writers it is sometimes found after *l*, *m*."—*Rask*. There are some districts in Western Iceland where it cannot be pronounced, and is replaced by (d). It has disappeared in Swedish, but is heard though not written, in Danish. The present use of þ, ð in Icelandic accords generally with their written use in Anglo-saxon, and consequently there is a presumption that the English use of an initial (dh) is modern, see suprà p. 515.[2]

[1] This conjecture will be incorrect if, as seems probable, Mr. Sweet's views are to be adopted, infrà, p. 559.

[2] Since p. 515 was sent to press, Mr. Henry Sweet has read his investigation of the meaning of þ ð before the Philological Society (4 June, 1869). He considers that the sound was originally uniformly vocal = (dh), in the earliest stages of the Teutonic languages, and that the non-vocal (th) is a later and progressive development. He believes that the earliest Icelandic of the XIII th century had the same pronunciation of þ ð as the modern, except in the words which have exceptionally an initial vocal form in English, thus, ancient *ðat*, *ðessi* *ðú* = modern *það*, *þessi*, *þú*. But the testimony of Icelandic MSS. he finds to be very uncertain. In modern Icelandic, ð is often evanescent (dh), according to Mr. Sweet, and in the Norwegian dialects it disappears entirely leaving an hiatus. See Rapp's opinion, infrà p. 555, n., col. 2. It should be mentioned that one of our words having an initial (dh), *though*, is pronounced with initial (th) in Scotland, (th*oo*), which however, may be a remnant of the form *thocht*, possibly a form of *thought*, for which initial (th) would be regular. As regards Anglosaxon, the real usages of MSS., disregarding the manipulation of editors, are very uncertain, according to Mr. Sweet. The Northumbrian writings use ð everywhere, except in the contraction $þ^t$. Rapp (Vergleichende Grammatik, iii, 128) complains that a great mistake has been made respecting Anglosaxon þ ð, especially in England. The Anglosaxons, he says, probably wrote first with runic, then with Latin letters, and there being no Latin letter for (th), the sound was represented in three ways; occasionally, even in the oldest monuments, by *th*, [compare suprà p. 525, l. 22]; afterwards by the runic þ, and thirdly by the Icelandic ð. Englishmen could not but feel that þ, ð were convenient representatives for their own two sounds (th, dh), although a cursory inspection of the MSS. would shew the discordance; so that some inverted the order and made þ, ð = (dh, th), [suprà p. 515, note 1]. Neither the Anglosaxon nor

E is properly (ee, e) long and short.[1] The sound did not appear to me to be so low as (EE, E), and certainly was not so high as (*ee*, *e*). Grimm (ib. pp. 427-432) endeavours to divide the sound into two, (e) corresponding to Gothic *a*, and (*e*), which he writes *ë*, corresponding to Gothic *i*. There is no trace of this in the spoken language. Ex. ennfremur (en·free·mər) *and further*; sem (seem) *who*; herrar (HER·rar) *lords*, verk (verk) *work*, etc. Initially it is occasionally pronounced like *è*, as: eg (JEEgh) *I*.

E', E`, the form *è* was proposed by Rask, and has been generally adopted, the older writers employ *é* or omit the accent altogether, leaving it to be supplied by the reader—either form is considered equivalent to *je*, and should therefore be (JEE, JE), but in fact, as in many cases where *j* is written, the result is often a diphthong with the stress on the first element, as: trè (tríee) *tree*, mèr (míeer) *to me*; but: fènu (fJee·nə, fiée·nə) *fees*, *property*, rèttur (RJet·tər)[2] *right*, fèll (fJedtlh) *fell*, etc.

EI, EY. These two signs are now identical in signification. Rask says that the two sounds are still distinct in Norway, where *ey* = (œi), and in the Ferro dialect, where it is commonly (oi). At present, however, both are (*eei*) or (*ee*'j), not sensibly differing from southern English d*ay*, and having its first element distinctly (*ee*) and hence materially differing from *e*. It is occasionally shortened by shortening the first element, and then may be written (*e*⌊*i*) to shew the brevity of the second element, so that the effect is almost (*e*). Ex. seil (*seei*l) *towing line*, heill (HE⌊*i*dtlh) *whole*, þeirra (the⌊*i*r·ra) *of them*, eytt (*e*⌊*i*t) *wasted*.

F, properly (f), with a very mild hiss, scarcely more than a single tooth being touched by the lower lip, so that it approaches (ph). It has this sound only at the beginning of syllables, or before *s*. or when doubled. At the end of a word or between vowels it falls into an equally mild (v). Before *l*, *n*, at the end of syllables it falls into (b), but if d or t follow the *n*, then *fnd*, *fnt* become (mnd, mnt), most generally, though some say (mnd, fnt). Ex. fótur (fo*o*u·tər) *foot*, ofsi (ov·s*i*) *arrogance*; haf (HAAV) *sea*, arfr (arv·ər) *inheritance*; tafla (tab·la) *table*, nafn (nab·nh) *name*; nefna (neb·na) *to name*, nefnt (nemnt) supine of *nefna*; jafnt (JAft), from the pulpit (JAmnt) *equally*.[3]

G is the most changeable of all the letters, and it is difficult to lay down rules which should apply to every case. At the beginning of syllables it is (g) before *a*, *á*, *o*, *ó*, *u*, *ú*, *ö*, *au*, and (*g*) before *æ*, *e*, *ei*, *i*, *í*, *y*, *ý*, *ey* and also before *j*. The first group corresponds

Early English use þ or ð in place of an organic (d). The Englishman now pronounces the demonstrative pronominal family with initial (dh), which no one has yet asserted for Anglosaxon (*was noch niemand im Angelsächsischen behauptet hat*). He considers that English (dh) has arisen partly from (th) and partly from (d), and that in Anglosaxon þ, *d*, must be everywhere restored, and ð eliminated. He even assumes initial *th* = (th) in Chaucer, see the introduction to Chap. VII. § 1, near the end.

[1] I took the *e* for (E) instead of (e). —H.S.

[2] The sound before *tt* is a pure aspirate without consonant quality, *rétt* (RIEH't).—H.S.

[3] *Jafnt* or *jamt* with voiceless *m* (JAmht).—H.S.

to non-palatal vowels, and the second to palatal vowels, but this division is not exact, for *e*, *u* *ö* (e, ə, œ) have precisely the same elevation of the tongue as *ei* (*eei*), and *æ* (aa*i*) is a back vowel, before which the use of the palatal (*g*) is exactly similar to that in older English *regard*, *sky* (ri*g*aard·, s*k*æi), suprà p. 206. The palatal *k*, *g* are expressed by *kj*, *gj* before the first group, and should always be so expressed. *G* after *a*, *o*, becomes (gh), and after *ó*, *ú*, it falls into (*w*h, wh, w) or almost entirely disappears. But after an (i) sound, it becomes (*g*h, *k*h) or even completely (ɹh, ɹ), and occasionally disappears as (i). These changes are extremely interesting because they shew the stages through which the ags. ȝ passed in older English before it entirely subsided into the present (ɹ i, w u) or totally disappeared. We have, therefore, an actual living example of the intermediate sounds, already suggested by theory, establishing the correctness of the previous hypothesis, suprà, p. 512. Ex.:

(g), gáfa (gaau·va) *gift*, gás (gaaus) *goose*, gaukur (gœœ*i*·k*ə*r) *cuckow*, glóð (gl*oo*udh) *live coal*, góður (go*o*u·dh*ə*r), göra (*g*œœ·ra) *to make*.

(*g*), gæs (*g*aa*i*s) *geese*, gæta (*g*aa*i*·ta) *to keep*, geit (*gee*it) *goat*, gjöf (*g*iœœv) *gift*, gjarn (*g*iádtnh) *prone*, pýngja (piiq·*g*ia) *purse*, gefa (*g*ee·va) *give*.

(gh) og (oogh) *and*, dögum (dœœgh·*ə*m) *to days*, sagði (saah⌊gh·dh*i*) daglaunamenn (daa⌊gh·lœœ*i*·namen·) *day labourers*.

(g*w*h, wh, w), ljúga (ɹuu·⌊g*w*ha, ɹuu·⌊wha, ɹuu·wa, ɹuu·a) *to tell a falsehood*, all varieties of barely pronounced (g*w*h) being permissible, and the last two forms being most common. This disappearance of (g*w*h) strongly calls to mind the absence of (gh) in the Welch system of mutation of initial consonants, thus (b, f, m; d, dh, n) should have in Welch a corresponding (g, gh, q), but instead of (gh) an hiatus is substituted as: eu gafr, dy afr, fy ngafr (e*y* gaav·'r, dɑ aav·'r, vɑ-qaav·'r), *their*, *thy*, *my goat*, where we ought clearly to have (dɑ ghaav·'r).

(*g*h, ɹh) mig (mi*ig*h) *me*, eigum (*eeig*h·*ə*m) *possessions*, sig (si*ig*h) *himself*, eg (ɹee*g*h) *I*, gnægð (gnaa*i*⌊*g*hd), *enough*.

(*k*h) fjarlægt (fiar·laa*i*⌊*k*ht) *far lying*.

(ɹ) feginn (fee·ɹ*i*n) *fain*, segja (seei·ɹa) *to say*, dragið (draa·ɹ*i*dh), *draw*, *put*, bogi (boo·ɹ*i*) *bow for shooting*, agi (aa·ɹ*i*) *chastisement*, bágindi (baau·ɹ*i*ndi) *troubles*.

In addition to these we must reckon the cases where a scarcely perceptible (*g*h, ɹh, g*w*h, wh) is developed from (*i*, uu) as: æ, bú (a*i*⌊ɹh, buu⌊wh) *ever*, *farm*. The Swedish reading of *gn* as (qn) is unknown except when *d*, *t* follow as lygndi (l*ii*qn·d*i*) *became calm*, rigndi, rignt (r*ii*qn·d*i*, r*ii*qnt) *was rained on*. When *s* follows the *n* is lost, as gagns (gagks).

H before vowels is (ʜ', ʜ) and is never dropped. Before consonants it is used simply to make them voiceless. Thus we have the remarkable set of digraphs, HJ, HL, HN, HR, HV, existing as distinct (ɹh, lh, nh, rh, wh), as was conjectured for Anglosaxon,

p. 513. HJ = (ɹh) is precisely the same as the initial element in my pronunciation of *hue* (ɹhíu), and is not (*k*h, *g*h), but of course only slightly different. HL = (lh) is the true whispered (l), with the breath passing out at each side of the tongue, and hence different from the unilateral Welch *ll* (lhh), so that Welch: lladd (lhhaadh) *to kill*, and Icelandic: hlaðr (lhaadh) *a street, a mound*, are perfectly distinct in sound. This (lh) sound is also frequently developed from *ll* final, intended for *dl*, but called (dtlh) as áll (audtlh) *eel*, and even before *t*, as: alt (alht) *all*. It would therefore naturally replace our English final ('l) in *fiddle*, if *l* occurred final after a consonant, just as the modern French stable (stablh), p. 52.[1] This is really the case with HN = (nh), which not only occurs initially, as hnífur (nhii·vər) *knife*,[2] but in *nn* as: einn (*ei*dtnh) *one*, and: vatn (vatnh) *water*. In HR = (rh) the Icelandic possesses perfect whispered *r*, which on the analogy of (lh, nh) is the sound of the favourite nominative termination *-r* in old Norse, as: bleikr, deigr (bl*eei*krh, d*eei*grh) *pale, wet*, but the modern custom is to use *-ur* (*-ər*) in its place, and this pronunciation has probably arisen from the sound (rh) having been dropped, and (r) simply retained, as (bl*eei*kr) with a distinct trilled (r) not forming a syllable, and different from (bl*eei*k'r), into which it probably sank, before the transition into (bl*eei*·kər) took place, as the Icelander naturally conceives all indistinct sounds to be (*ə*) which is *his* "natural vowel." The close resemblance of (rh) to (s) however, and the correspondence of the Icelandic *-r* with the Gothic *-s*, renders the old sound (rh) extremely probable, and possibly the old Latin confusion of terminal *s*, *r* as *arbos arbor*, *honos honor*, may rest upon a similar antecedent whispered pronunciation of *r*. The use of HV = (wh) is the most singular, because (w) is not a recognized element in the language, and it will be best considered under V.

I is distinctly (*ii*, *i*) both long and short, the very sounds which we were led to attribute to *i* in the XIV th century (p. 297). It is interesting also to see that foreigners, unable to appreciate the true (*ii i*), confuse it with (*ee*, *e*),[3] which is a corroboration of the re-

[1] The sound of *hl* is more correctly (ljh).—H. S. See infrà, p. 546, n. 1.

[2] Compare Cooper, p. 32, "N Formatur ab extremitate linguæ superiorum dentium radici appositâ (si spiritus utrinque per labia efflatur formatur *l*) huic correspondet *hn*, quam scribunt *Angli* per *kn*, *know know*, cognosco." —p. 37, "*hn* quam scribimus *kn*." —p. 38, "*zh*, *wh*, *sh*, *th*, *hn* in Alphabeto non numerantur."—p. 39, "*kn* ponitur pro *hn*."—p. 67. "*Kn* sonatur ut *hn*; *knave* nebulo, *knead* mala cisso, *knee* genu, *kneel* ingeniculor, *knife* culter, *knight* eques, *knit* necto, *knock* tundo, *know* nosco, *knuckle* articulus; quasi *hnave*, etc."

[3] Rask says that the "sound especially when it is long seems to approach to that of the deep *e* (*e*)." Rapp says "folglich *i* = *é* gilt," *i.e.* consequently i = (*e*). Grimm says: "Während der unterschied zwischen i und î in solchen zweisilbigen formen beinahe unmerklich sein, z. b. qviða poema fast lauten musz wie qvîða metus, obschon kurzes i im munde des Isländers sich dem elaut nähert," i.e. he considers that the dissyllables qviða *poem*, qvîða *fear* ought to be nearly indistinguishable, "although in the mouth of an Icelander short *i* approaches to the sound of *e*." (Gr. I³, 486). Mr. Sweet says than in unaccented syllables *i* is rather (e) than (*i*).

mark, p. 271, and even in some terminations, *e* often stands in MSS. for *i*, as in: háskalegr, misseri, lande, for háskaligr, missiri, landi (ʜaaus·kal*ii*gər, m*i*s·s*ii*r*i*, land·*ii*) *dangerous, quarter year, to a land.* At the present day, however, the (*ii*) is very distinct, as is never confused with (ii), thus: vinum mínum (v*ii*·nəm mii·nəm) do not rhyme, and children in repeating the alphabet never confuse *i* with *í*, that is (*ii*) with (ii). Icelandic is the only language I have met with which distinctly recognizes this long (*ii*), though we have seen that it is occasionally generated in English (p. 106). The short *i* is the true usual English (*i*), and is perfectly distinct from (i). In older books *i* before a vowel was used, where *j* is now employed.

Í on the other hand is (ii, i), generally long, but short in unaccented syllables. It is not, however, found short in closed accented syllables as in Scotch and French.[1] Rask considers *í*, *ú* as diphthongs, as it were *ij uv* = (*i*i, əu), but there is no foundation for this in actual speech, and the conception seems due to the mode of writing.

J was used as the ancient capital of *i*, at the beginning of words, but as it was there pronounced as (ɹ) before vowels, it has in recent times been used in the middle of words before vowels, even though the sound was not always the pure consonant (ɹ), but much more frequently an (i) diphthongising with the following vowel. It changes a preceding *k*, *g* from (k, g) into (*k*, *g*), but the sound of (i) is still heard as much as in the Italian: chiaro, ghiaja (*k*iáa·ro, *g*iái·ia) *clear, gravel.* It does not seem to change a preceding *l*, *n* from (l, n) into (lj, nj), as ljá (liáau) *new cut grass*, ljóð (lióoudh) *poem*, liúfur (liúu·vər) *gentle*, ljæ (liáa*i*) *to lend*; niálgur (niáaul·gər) *hedgehog*. In some cases the sound of (ɹ) would be difficult as: fjárins (fiáau·rinzs) *of the fee*, fjarlægt (fíaar·laa*i*⌊*k*ht) *far-lying*, bjóst (bí*oo*ust) *busked*, brjósti (brí*oo*ust·*i*) *breast*, hljóp (lhí*oo*up) *leaped.* Hence *j* must be merely looked upon as a dipthongizing (i), not (*i*). In all these cases, however, a simple (ɹ) would be considered correct, thus (lɹaau, lɹ*oo*udh, lɹuuv·ər, lɹaa*i*, nɹaaul·gər, fɹaau·rins, fɹaar·laa*i*⌊*k*ht, bɹ*oo*ust, brɹ*oo*us·t*i*, lhɹ*oo*up).

K is (k) before *a*, *á*, *o*, *ó*, *u*, *ú*, *ö*, *au* and (*k*) before *æ*, *e*, *ei*, *i*, *í*, *y*, *ý*, *ey*, *j*, thus kirkja (*k*ir·*k*ia) *church*, contains the true intermediate sound between the Scotch *kirk* (kerk) and Chaucer's *chirche* (tshirtsh·e), suprà pp. 203-6.[2] K does not assume the forms (kh, *k*h, k*w*h), and hence differs materially from G.

L is usually and always intentionally (l), but the sound of (lh) is sometimes produced by a following *t*, as alt (alht) *all.* In the case of *ll*, the first *l* is pronounced as (d), and if the second is final, it becomes (*lh*), and thus generates a (t) in passing from (d), so that the combination becomes (-dtlh), and the first (d) is frequently scarcely audible, as (-⌊dtlh), the whole combination being rapidly

[1] Short (i) in þing (thiqg). I think Mr. Hjaltalín said that the pronunciation (th*i*qg) with open (*i*) sometimes occurs.—H. S.

[2] I thought *k* before *e*, *i*, etc., was really (kɹ) not (kj = *k*), but this was probably incorrect.—H. S.

pronounced,[1] and *rl* is treated in the same way, thus: kall karl (ka⌊dtlh) *calling*, *churl*. Between two vowels, *ll* is distinctly (dl) as kalla (kad·la) *to call*. See N. For *hl* see H.

M is always intentionally (m), but may be voiceless (mh) before *t*.

N is always intentionally (n), but after *t*, *k* final, (nh) is generated as: vatn (vatnh) *water*, regn (reg⌊knh) *rain*, vagn (vag⌊knh) *wain*, and *nn rn* are both (-⌊dtnh) final, see L. Thus klènn (klie⌊dtnh) *small*, fínn (fii⌊dtnh) *fine*, járn (jaau⌊dtnh) *iron*. "But should *nn* belong to the following syllable, or if it be a simple vowel that goes before, the sound is (n), as á-nni (aun·ni) *to the river*, dat. sing. with art., ey-nni (*ein*·ni) *to the island*;[2] so also: kanna (kan·na) *to survey*, hann (han) *he*, brenna (bren·na) *to burn*, etc. Old writers often used *ll*, *nn*, in all cases before *d*, *t* without regard to the radical form, though the custom was never general. This *nnd* has been long since entirely laid aside, as also *ll*, *d* where the root has a simple *l*, *lj*."—*Rask*.[3] In NG the *n* becomes (q), and the *g* has its full sound of (g), thus þíng (thiiqg)[4] *council*, *assembly*, and the preceding vowel is always one of the accented series *á*, *í*, *ó*, *ú*, *ý*. Konrað Gíslason, however, maintains that the vowel should always be unaccented in old Norse; but his opinion does not find much favour. NK is also pronounced (qk) as: þánki (thaauqk·*i*) *mind*, *thought*, hánki (haauqk·*i*) *handle of a basket*, *ear of a jar*.

O is the pure (oo,) long and short, suprà pp. 94-96, quite distinct from the English (aa, ɔ),[5] and is identified by Rask with the Swedish *å*, Russian and Finnish *o*, but as he also makes it the same as English *o* (ɔ), some doubt attaches to the other indications.

O′ is the pure English diphthong (*oo*u) as heard in *know*. The final *u* here generates a (w) when another vowel follows, as sóaðdi (s*oo*·wadhi) *wasted*. When a doubled *tt* follows, where there is an assimilated guttural, the first element is shortened, and the guttural is faintly heard, as dóttir (d*o*u⌊g*w*ht·t*i*r) *daughter*. When *ó* is final, the (u) is heard quite as distinctly as in English, thus skó (sk*oo*u) *shoes*, is a perfect rhyme to *know*.

Ö, Œ,[6] is (œœ, œ) long and short, and is kept quite distinct from (*əə*, *ə*), as in dögum (dœœgh·*ə*m) *to days*. The form œ is only used by theoretical writers.

P is always (p), except in the combination *pt* which is called (ft) as lopt (loft) *air*, but modern writers, and among them the learned Jón Þorkelsson, are beginning to employ *ft* by preference.

[1] *Ll*, *nn* = ('dlh, 'dnh) between vowels generally, as well as final, *falla*, *allra*, *einna* = (a'dlhrah), etc. *L* is generally rather (lj). One Icelander (Mr. G. Vigfússon) said he could not sound the English *l*. Thus *falla* is more correctly (fa'dljhah).—H.S.

[2] In both these cases *-nni* stands for *-inni* and is the dat. fem. of the suffixed definite article, so that it has no etymological connection with the preceding *d*, *ey*, and the division of the syllables being etymological, not phonetic, in Icelandic, *-nn* is said to belong entirely to the second syllable, but a distinct (n,n) is really pronounced.

[3] Before *t*, *n* is voiceless as *beint* (b*ee*inht).—H.S.

[4] See p. 545, note 1.

[5] I took the *o* for (ɔ) not (o).—H.S.

[6] In old Icelandic there was a long œ distinct from æ, but it seems to have been absorbed by æ at an early period. —H.S.

QV is found in old MSS. but even there interchanges with *kv*. At present *q* has no value different from (k), and consequently (*k*) is now generally written.

R is a strongly trilled (.r) as in Scotland, and when doubled, as in fjarri (fia.r˙.ri) *remote*, the number of vibrations of the tip of the tongue is very great. Final *-ur* (-ər) is however more lightly pronounced. In the following transcription I shall simply use (r). but the reader must be careful never to say (ɹ). The combinations *rl*, *rn* are considered under L, N. The final *-r* after consonants, was probably (rh) see *hr* under H, but it is now generally replaced by *-ur* (-ər).[1]

S is always intentionally (s), and never (z), but (z) is sometimes generated, although it is not recognized. Thus (*s*) final after *l*, *n*, and perhaps in other cases, generates an intermediate (z). For example, if we compare: *eins*, *sins* (*ee*inzs, siinzs), with English *stains*, *scenes* (ste*e*inzs, siinzs), we shall see that the difference of the terminations, here written alike, arises from the (s) in Icelandic being intentional and predominant, but the (z) generated and therefore lightly touched, while in English the (z) is intentional and predominant, and though the (s) is often prolonged, and in the church singing of charity children, not unfrequently painfully hissed, it is yet merely generated by a careless relaxation of the voice, and its very existence is unknown to many speakers. We might therefore write the Icelandic (-n⌊zs) and the English (-nz⌊s), but (-ns, -nz) is sufficient for most purposes. I found also that there was an unacknowledged tendency to pronounce *s* final after long vowels, in the same way; thus: lás, bás, meis, vís, hrís, rós, hús, mús sounded to me (laauzs, baauzs, m*eei*zs, viizs, rhiizs, r*oo*uzs, ʜuuzs, muuzs) *halter*, *stable*, *manger*, *wise*, *vegetable*, *rose*, *house*, *mouse*, the two last words sounding quite different from the Scotch (ʜus, mus). Even in the name of Iceland itself, Ísland, I found the *s* varying from (z) to (s) at different times, as (iis˙land, iiz˙land). Between two vowels *s* may similarly have a tendency to become (z), but I have not had time to examine the numerous words of this class orally, and it would be necessary to examine natives who had not learned the sound of (z) from other languages. We may always pronounce (s) without offence, but (z) would be frequently very offensive. Initially before *j*, *s* seems to assume the form (sj) or (shj), the latter was the sound I heard in sjúkur (shjuu˙kər) *sick*. Icelanders have a difficulty in acquiring the sound of English (sh), except in such a word as *sugar*, which they probably call (shjuug˙ər).[2]

T is the usual (t), but in *tt*, where the first *t* stands for an assimilated guttural, while both letters are pronounced (t,t), the guttural still generally asserts itself, see Æ, Á, Ó.

Þ is (th), and that invariably, although it stands in places where

[1] In *rt*, the *r* is voiceless, as *hart* (ʜarht).—H.S.

[2] Most Icelanders seem unable to pronounce (sh, tsh). They sound our *church* as (siɛrhs). They also find our (z) very difficult.—H.S.

(dh) is now pronounced in English. Rask, however, excepts "pronouns and particles which in daily speech are attracted like enclitics to the foregoing word, as á æfi-þinni[1] *in thy days*, hafir þú *hast thou*? where it has the sound of ð. The word þú is often thus contracted with verbs, in which case *u* loses its accent, and *þ* is changed into ð, *d*, or *t*, as the foregoing letter may require; as haf-ðu (нav·dhə) Imper. of hafa *to have*, kom-du (kom·də) Imper. of koma, rís-tu (riis·tə) of rísa *to rise*." These are equivalent to Chaucer's saystow wiltow (sais·tu, w*i*lt·u), *sayest thou*, *wilt thou*, (suprà p. 371, art. 98, *c*, Ex.) the vulgar German haschte (нash·tə) = *hast du*, *hast thou*, etc. They are generated, unintentional sounds.[2]

U seems to be pure (əə, ə) long and short, and the existence of the forms *á*, *ó* (aau, *oo*u) would seem to indicate the absence of any letter for (u) even in ancient times, and *au* for (œœ) and (œœə) appears to imply that this value of *u* was ancient, see AU.[3] This sound of (ə) is often confused with (y), on the one hand, and (œ) on the other. Thus to Mr. M. Bell the French *u* sounds (ə), and to me (y). In our own provinces (y, ə) seem to be heard indifferently, thus I heard both (tyy) and (təə) for *two* in Norwich. See also the Devonshire sounds in (p. 301 note). In Scotland (y) and (ə) are both used, though only (y) is generally recognized. I hear (ə) for the French *e* muet, but others hear (ə, əh). In some parts of Germany (œ) and in others (ə) are used for ö. Hence we must not be surprised at Rask's finding Icelandic *u* "almost like deep[4] Swedish ö in *hög rök*," probably (ə), or "German ü," which he may have heard as (ə), wishing to keep it distinct from (ɪ) into which his own Danish *y* had fallen. He adds that "the word guð *God* is pronounced nearly as gvöð or gvüð," but to me it sounds (gvəədh) or (gwəədh) where the inserted *v*, or a labialized *g* arising perhaps from an intense effort to avoid any palatisation of the *g* into (gj). The distinction between the sounds of *u*, ö (ə, œ) is, if I rightly appreciate it, precisely the same as that between *i*, *i* (i, *i*), or (*e*, e) that is, the position of the tongue and lips is the same for both elements in each pair, but the whole of the back part of the mouth etc., is wider for the second element in each pair than for the first.

U′ is (uu, u), long in accented, short in open unaccented syllables.[5] Rask says that it has two sounds, apparently (uu, *u*), but his explanation is quite unintelligible, owing to his confusing vowels so unlike, as (ə, ə, *o*, *u*). No such distinction was admitted by Mr. Magnússon. It seems impossible to an Icelander to pronounce final *ú* without some labio-guttural intonation after it, such as (wh, g*w*h), thus: bú (buu) or rather (buu⌊wh) *farm*.

[1] The change of *þ* to ð is rare in this case.

[2] See note on ð, suprà, p. 541, n. 2.

[3] See, however, a different opinion advanced by Mr. Sweet, infrà, p. 559.

[1] Rask calls (*e*) deep, and (e) high, which is contrary to the usual terminology, thus art. 15, he speaks of "ä or high e in the Swedish word *engel*, French *è* in *après*, English *e* in *fellow* or *ai* in *hair*," and "the lower sound of *e* in the Swedish *lefva*, *veta*, French é."

[5] Short (u) in þúngr, not (ə) as if spelled *u*.—H.S.

V is (v) with so slight a contact of the lower lips with the upper teeth as to vary in effect at different times as (bh, v), but I did not feel justified in noting it as (bh) without having an opportunity of hearing the sound from numerous speakers.[1] That it was not originally (v) is clear to me from the combination HV, which is called (wh) in the southern, and (k*w*h) in the northern districts of Iceland, corresponding to the English and Scotch sounds of *wh*, and the South and North Wales pronunciation of *chw*. These point to an original (w) and to the transitional sound (bh) before falling into (v). For the unvoiced (v) could only be (f), the Aberdeen expression of *wh*; and the unvoiced (bh) would be (ph), neither of which sounds seem to be used, although *f* now falls into *v*. It is very possible that in earlier times *f* had the true sounds of (f, v), and that *v*, then not distinguished in writing from *u*, was (w), whence *hv* would be (wh). At the present day, *v*, *hv* = (v, wh) is an anomaly, which could hardly have been original.

X is traditionally used for *ks*, *gs*, without any known reason, except custom, and shortens the preceding vowel like a doubled consonant.

Y has precisely the same value as *i* (*i*) and is only employed to point out certain grammatical or etymological relations. But in some valleys it is yet called (y), and this was possibly its original sound. The present sound is supposed to have taken its rise in the XII th century, and to have become prevalent in the XIV th.

Y′ is now the same as *í* (ii). "The name of the letter, however, is pronounced altogether as it is in Swedish and Danish," says Rask, that is, as (yy) or more commonly ýpsilon.

Z has always the sound of (s), its use is merely etymological or literary, shewing that some letter has been lost before *s*, and as it is not consistently employed, it would be better disused altogether.

The alphabet is read thus, in Icelandic orthography; a á bè cè dè eð e è eff gè hà i í joð ká ell emm enn o ó pè qú err ess tè u ú vaff ex ypsilon ýpsilon zeta þorn æ = (aa aau bɹee sɹee dɹee eedh ee ɹee ef *g*ɹee ʜaau *ii* ii ɹoodh kaau edtlh em en oo *oo*u pɹee kuu er es tɹee *əə* uu vaf eks *i*ps*i*lon iip·s*i*lon see·ta thodtnh aa*i*). Both æ and œ are written occasionally, but they are not distinguished in sound, and are both named (aa*i*).

The stress is on the first syllable of all words long or short, simple or compound, but in the case of compounds each component has an accent as if it were simple, and the chief stress lies on the first. A single final consonant, or a single consonant between two vowels, leaves the preceding vowel long, as: vel (veel) *well*, mansaugur (maan·sœœi·ɹər) *lovesong*, veð (veedh) *pledge*, þat (thaat) *that*, til (t*ii*l) *to*. A doubled consonant, or two consonants (of which final *r* is not one) shortens and "stops" the preceding vowel, and diminishes the length of the first element of diphthongs. Doubled consonants are fully pronounced, as in Italian, suprà p. 55.

[1] I thought at first that *v* was (bh), and I was only induced to consider it as a (v) by the distinct statement of Mr. Hjaltalín that it was a dental sound.—H. S.

Rask asserts that all vowels and diphthongs are nasalized when standing immediately before *m* and *n*, but if such nasalisation exists, it must be very slight, and I did not detect it. But see infrá p. 558, l. 25.

When three consonants come together one is usually omitted, as hálft (haulht) *half*, volgt (volht) *lukewarm*, margt (maart) *much*. Similarly íslenzskt (iis·lenst) *Icelandic*, danskt (danst) *Danish*; gagns (gagks) *of use*, hrafns (rhafs) *a crow's*, vatns (vas) *water's*. Similarly *r* is little heard before *st* and *nd*, as verstur (vest·ər) *worst*, fyrstur (fis·tər) *first*. For *rl*, *rn*, see L,N; for *fnd*, *fnt*, see F, for *gnd*, *gnt*, see G.

These observations will give the reader a tolerably complete notion of Icelandic pronunciation, and enable him, with a little attention, to read intelligibly. There is no sound really difficult in the language, but the combinations are unusual, and will require care. It is therefore necessary to have an example, for which, as already mentioned (p. 534,) the parable of the Prodigal Son has been selected. The text is taken from that revised by Mr. Magnússon,[1] and the pronunciation was written down from his dictation, and afterwards carefully compared with his reading. The translation is constructed on the same principles as before (p. 534). The reader is recommended to read the words of one verse over with care and repeat them till he can form the sounds with ease and rapidity from memory before proceeding to a second verse. If he proceeds through the whole parable in this way, and commits the text to memory, he will be able to read any Icelandic book intelligibly to an Icelander.

Lúkasar Guðspjall 15, 11-32.	Luuk·asar Gvəədh·spiatlh, 15, 11-32.
11. Ennfremur sagði hann: maður nokkur átti tvo sonu,	11. En·free·mər saa⌊gh·dhi han: maa·dhər nok·kər au⌊kwht·ti tvoo soo·nə,
12. Sá yngri þeirra sagði við föður sinn: faðir! lát mig fá þann hluta fjárins, sem mèr ber; og hann skipti milli þeirra fènu.	12. Saau iiq·gri the⌊ir·ra saa⌊ghdhi vidh fœœdh·ər sin: faa·dhir! laaut miigh faau than lhəə·ta fiaau·rinzs, seem míeer beer; oogh han skif·ti mid·li the⌊ir·ra fiee·nə.

Verbatim Translation.

Luke's Gospel, 15, 11-32.

11. Still-further said he: man certain had two sons,

12. The younger of-them said to father his: father! let me fang that lot of-the-fee which to-me are-borne; and he divided between them fee-the.

13. Some days since, took the

[1] Hið Nýa Testamenti Drottins vors Jesú Krists, ásamt með Davíðs Sálmum. Endurskoðuð útgáfa. Oxford: prentað í Prentsmiðju Háskólans í Oxford, á Kostnað hins Brezka og Erlenda Biflíufèlags. 1863. Literally: The New Testament of-Lord ours Jesus Christ, together with Davids Psalms. Revised Edition. Oxford; printed in Print-smithy of-High-school-the in Oxford, at cost of-the British and Foreign Bible-fellowship.

13. Nokkrum dögum síðar tók sá ýngri alt fè sitt og ferðaðist í fjarlægt land; þar sóaði hann fè sínu í óhófsömum lifnaði.

14. Nú er hann hafði eytt öllum eigum sínum, kom þar mikið hallæri í landið, tók hann þá að líða nauð,

15. Fór hann þá og rèðst til eins borgara í því landi, sem sendi hann út á bú sitt, að gæta þar svína sinna;

16. Varð hann þá feginn, að seðja sig af drafi því, er svínin átu; og einginn varð til að gefa honum nokkuð.

17. Nú er hann ránkaði við sèr, sagði hann: hversu marga daglaunamenn heldur faðir minn, sem hafa gnægð matar en eg ferst í húngri;

18. Eg vil taka mig upp og fara til föður míns, og segja við hann: Faðir! eg hefi syndgað móti himninum og fyrir þèr,

19. Og er ekki leingur verður að heita sonur þinn. Far þú med mig eins og einn af daglaunamönnum þínum.

13. Nok·krəm dœœgh·əm sii·dhar *too*uk saau iiq·gr*i* alht f*i*ee s*i*t oogh fer·dhadh*i*st ii fiaar·laa*i*⌊*k*ht land; thaar s*oo*·wadh*i* нan f*i*ee sii·nə ii *oo*u·н*oo*uv·sœœməm l*i*b·nadh*i*.

14. Nuu er нan нav·dh*i* *e*⌊*i*t œt·ləm *eei*⌊*gh*əm siin·əm, koom thaar m*ii*·*ki*dh нad·laa*i*ri ii land·*i*dh, t*oo*uk нan thaau aadh lii·dha nœœ*i*dh.

15. F*oo*ur нan thaau oogh rí*ee*dhst t*ii*l *ee*inzs bor·gara ii thvii land·*i*, seem send·*i* нan uut aau buu⌊*gw*h s*i*t, aadh *g*aa*i*t·a thar sviin·a s*i*n·na.

16. Vardh нan thaau fee·ɟ*i*n, aadh seedh·ɟa s*iig*h aav draav·*i* thvii, er sviin·*i*n aau·tə, oogh *e*⌊*i*q·g*i*n vardh t*ii*l aadh *g*ee·va нoo·nəm nok·kədh.

17. Nuu er нan rauq·kadhi v*ii*dh síeer, saah⌊gh·dh*i* нan: wher·sə marg·a daa⌊gh·lœœ*i*·namen· нeld·ər faa·dh*i*r m*i*n, seem нaav·a gnaa*i*⌊*g*hdh maa·tar en ɟee*g*h ferst ii нuuq·gr*i*

18. Jee*g*h v*i*l taa·ka m*iig*h əp, oogh faa·ra t*ii*l fœœdh·ər miinzs, oogh seei·ɟa v*i*dh нan: Faadh·*i*r! ɟee*g*h нeev·*i* s*i*n·gadh m*oo*u·t*i* н*i*m·n*i*nəm oogh f*ii*·r*i*r thíeer,

19. Oogh er ek·*ki* l*ee*⌊*i*q·gər verdh·ər aadh н*eei*·ta soo·nər th*i*n. Faar thuu meedh m*ii*⌊gh *ee*inzs oogh *ee*itnh av daa⌊gh·lœœ*i*·namœn·nəm thiin·əm.

Verbatim Translation.

younger all fee his and fared in far-lying land; there wasted he fee his in un-measure-some living.

14. Now as he had wasted all owningsings his, came there much hard-earing (famine) in land-the, took he then to suffer need.

15. Fared he then and betook-him to one citizen in that land, who sent him out to bigging (farm) his, to keep there swine his:

16. Was he then fain to fill himself of husks those, which swine-the ate; and no-one worth to (became to, was at hand) to give him anything.

17. Now, as he came to himself, said he: how many day-loans-men holds father mine, who have enough meat and I perish in hunger;

18. I will take me up and fare til father mine, and say to him: Father! I have sinned against heaven-the and before thee,

19. And am not longer worthy to hight son thine. Fare thou with me like as one of day-loans-men thine.

20. Bjóst hann þá til ferðar til föður síns; en er hann var enn nú lángt í burtu, sá faðir hans hann og kendi í brjósti um hann, hljóp og fèll um háls honum og kysti hann.

21. En sonurinn sagði við hann: Faðir minn, eg hefi syndgað móti himninum og fyrir þèr, og er nú ekki framar verður að heita sonur þinn.

22. Þá sagði faðirinn við þjóna sína: færið hínga hina beztu skikkju og færið hann í; dragið hríng á hönd hans og skó á fætur honum;

23. Komið með alikálf og slátrið, svo vèr getum matazt og verið glaðir;

24. Því þessi sonur minn, sem var dauður, er lifnaður aptur, og hann, sem týndur var er fundinn; tóku menn nú að gleðjast.

25. En svo bar við, að eldri bróðir hans var á akri, og er hann kom og nálgaðist húsið, heyrði hann samsaung og dans;

26. Kallaði hann þá á einn af þjónustumönnunum, og frètti hann, hvað um væri;

20. Bíoost han thaau tiil ferdh·ar tiil fœœdh·ər siinzs; en er han vaar en nuu laauqt ii bərt·ə, saau faadh·ir hans han oogh kend·i ii bríoost·i əm han, lhíooup oogh fïetlh əm haaulzs hoo·nəm oogh kis·ti han.

21. En soo·nərin saah⌊gh·dhi viidh han: Faadh·ir min, jeegh heev·i sin·gadh mooo·ti him·ninəm oogh fii·rir thíeer, oogh er nuu ek·ki fraa·mar verdh·ər aadh heei·ta soo·nər thin.

22. Thaau saah⌊gh·dhi faadh·irin viidh thíoo·na sii·na; faai·ridh hiiq·gadh hii·na best·ə skik·kə oogh faair·idh han ii; draau·jidh rhiiqgaau hœndhanzs oogh skoou aau faait·ər hoo·nəm.

23. Koom·idh meedh aa·likaaulv, oogh slaau·tridh, svoo víeer geet·əm maa·tast oogh vee·ridh glaa·dhir;

24. Thvii thes·si soo·nər min seem vaar dœœidh·ər, er lib·nadhər aft·ər, oogh han seem tiin·dər vaar, er fənd·in; tooouk·ə men nuu adh gleedh·jast.

25. En svoo baar viidh, aadh el·dri brooudh·ir hanzs vaar aau aa·kri, oogh er han koom oogh naaul·gadhist huus·idh, heeir·dhi han saam·sœœiq oogh dans;

26. Kad·ladhi han thaau aau eeit⌊nh av thíoou·nəstəmœn·nənəm, oogh fríet·ti han, whaadh əm vaai·ri;

Verbatim Translation.

20. Busked (arose) he then to faring to father his; but as he was even now long on way (away), saw father his him and moved in breast for him, leaped and fell over neck to-him and kissed him.

21. But son-the said to him: Father mine, I have sinned against heaven-the and before thee, and am now not further worthy to hight son thine.

22. Then said father-the to thanes his: Fare hither the best robe and fare him in; drag ring on hand his and shoes on feet to-him.

23. Come with fatted-calf and slaughter, so we get to-eat and be glad;

24. For this son mine who was dead, is enlivened again, and he, who tined (lost) was, is found. Took men now to gladden-themselves.

25. But so bore to, that elder brother his was on acre, and as he came and neared house-the, heard he music and dance;

26. Called he then on one of thanesmen-the, and asked him, what about were;

27. Hann sagði: bróðir þinn er kominn, og faðir þinn hefir slátrað alikálfi, af því hann heimti son sinn heilan heim.

28. Reiddist hann þá og vildi ekki fara inn. Faðir hans fór því út og bauð honum inn að koma.

29. En hann svaraði og sagði við föður sinn: í svo mörg ár hefi eg nú þjónað þér og aldrei breytt út af boðum þínum, þó hefir þú aldrei gefið mér kiðlíng, svo að eg gæti glatt mig með vinum mínum;

30. En þessi sonur þinn, sem sóað hefir eigum þínum með skækjum, er nú kominn, og hans vegna slátrar þu alikálfii.

31. En hann sagði við hann: sonur minn, þú ert alt af með mèr, og allar mínar eigur heyra þèr til;

32. Nú ættir þú að vera glaður og í góðu skapi, þar bróðir þinn, sem dauður var, er lifnaður aptur, og hann, sem týndur var, er fundinn.

27. Han saah⌊gh·dhi: brooudh·ir thin er koom·in, oogh faadh·ir thin Heev·ir slaaut·radh aa·likaaul·vi, av thvii Han Heeim·ti soon sin Heei·lan Heeim.

28. Reid·dist Han thaau, oogh vil·di ekki faa·ra in. Faadh·ir Hanzs foour thvii uut, oogh bœœidh Hoo·nəm in aadh koom·a.

29. En Han svaa·radhi oogh saah⌊gh·dhi viidh fœœdh·ər sin: ii svoo mœrg aaur Heev·i Jeegh nuu thíoou·nadh thíeer oogh al·dreei breit uut av boodh·əm thiin·əm, thoou Heev·ir thuu al·dreei geev·idh míeer· kidh·liq svoo adh Jeegh gaai·ti glat miigh meedh viin·əm miin·əm;

30. En thes·si soo·nər thin, seem soo·wadh Heev·ir eeigh·əm thii·nəm meedh skaai·kjəm, er nuu koom·in, oogh Hanzs veg·na slaau·trar thuu aa·likaaul·vi.

31. En Han saah⌊gh·dhi viidh Han: soo·nər min, thuu ert alht av meedh míeer, oogh adt·lar miin·ar eeigh·ər Heei·ra thíeer tiil;

32. Nuu ai⌊kht·tir thuu aadh veer·a glaadh·ər oogh ii gooudh·ə skaa·pi, thaar brooudh·ir thin, seem dœœidh·ər vaar, er lib·nadhər aft·ər, oogh Han, seem tiind·ər vaar, er fənd·in.

Verbatim Translation.

27. He said: Brother thine is come, and father thine has slaughtered fatted-calf, for that he fetched son his whole home.

28. Grew-wroth he then and would not fare in. Father his fared then out and bade him in to come.

29. But he answered and said to father his: In so many years have I now thaned (served) thee and never deviated out of biddings thine, though hast thou never given me kid, so that I might gladden myself with friends mine.

30. But this son thine, who wasted has ownings thine with harlots, is now come, and his ways (for his sake) slaughtered thou fatted-calf.

31. But he said to him: Son mine, thou art all of (always) with me, and all my ownings belong thee to:

32. Now oughtest thou to be glad and in good shape, there (because) brother thine who dead was, is enlivened again, and he, who tined was, is found.

PRONUNCIATION OF OLD NORSE.

Rask considers that the modern pronunciation is practically the same as the ancient, except in a few instances, hence in the following table the modern forms as already explained, are given in Rask's column, and his supposed ancient values are bracketed. Rapp gives an opinion upon nearly every letter in the alphabet, and although he did not consider that he had arrived at a result sufficiently definite to give an example, he has transcribed a large number of words into his alphabet, a selection of which is subjoined. Grimm's pronunciation is not easy to be determined, and the sounds which I have given must be therefore considered to be in great part conjectural. The vowels are taken from the third, and the consonants from the second edition of his Grammar.

On these conjectures generally I make no observation, except to remark that I feel doubtful as to the value which Rask meant to ascribe to the old *u*. He says: "*u*, without accent, may perhaps have had the sound of the short English *u* in *nut*, *but*, the Danish *o* in *hos*, the Swedish *o* in *sporde*, *menniskor lärorik*, etc." These sounds are certainly not identical, and I have been accustomed to consider them as (ə, o, *u*) respectively. Grimm assumes the English *u* to be a sound between German o and ö, whatever that may mean.[1] Neither he nor Rask, therefore, had mastered the English (ə, ɜ) sounds. I have represented Rask's ancient *u* by (*o*, *u*) doubtfully, but believe that the latter is more probable.

Letters.	Modern & [Rask].	Grimm.	Rapp.	Letters.	Modern & [Rask.]	Grimm.	Rapp.
a	aa, a	a	a	k	k, *k*	k, kJ	k, kj
á	aau	aa	AA	l	l, lh	l	l
æ	aa*i*	ee	ee	m	m	m	m
au	œœ*i* [œu]	au	əu	n	n	n	n
b	b	b	b	ng	qg		q, qg
d	d, dh	d, dh	d, th	o	oo, o	o, *o*	*o*
ð	dh	dh	dh	ó	*oo*u	*oo*	*oo*
e	ee, e	e *e*	*e*	ö	œœ, œ	œ, *o*	*ə*
é, è	Jee, Je	*ee*, J*ee*	*ee*, e	œ	(not used)	œœ	œœ
ei	*eei*	ei	əi	p	p, f	p, f	p
ey	*eei* [œi]	ey	əy	qv	k		
f	f, v, b	f, v	f	r	r, rh	r	r
g	g, *g*, gh / *g*h, J, *g*w*h*	g, gJ	g, gj	s	s	s	sj, s
h	H	h	kh	t	t	t	t
hj	Jh		khJ	þ	th	th	th
hl	lh		khl	u	*əə*, *ə* [*o*, *u*]	u	œ, u
hn	nh		khn	ú	uu	uu	uu
hr	rh		khr	v	v	bh	bh
hv	wh		khbh	x	ks		ks
i	*ii*, *i*	i	i	y	*ii*, *i* [*ə*]	y	y
í	ii	ii	ii	ý	ii [II]	yy	yy
j	J	i	J	z	s	s	

[1] Gr. I³, 391, "vor einfachen consonanten hat u einen laut zwischen nhd. o und ö; das nnl. u neigt sich mehr zu ü."

Old Norse words as pronounced by Rapp: á (AA) *in*, *water*, æ (ee) *always*, átta (AAT·ta) *eight*, auk (əuk) *also*, auga (əug·a) *eye*, bleikr (bleik·r) *pale*, bleydi (bləydh·i) *fear*, blés (blees) *blew*, blód (blood) *blood*, bökr (bœœk·r) *books*, bók (book) *book*, brúda (bruudh·a) *of brides*, býd (byydh) *invite*, byggia (byg·JA) *build*, dagr degi dögum (dag·r, deg·i, dəg·UM) *day*, *to a day*, *to days*, dóttir (doot·tir) *daughter*, dýpi (dyyp·i) *depth*, ey (əy) *island*, eyk (əik) *oak*, fel (fJel) *fell*, fliúga (fliu·ga) *fly*, fötr (fœœt·r) *feet*, frí (frii) *free*, fullr (fœl·r) *full*, fylli (fyl·i) *fullness*, gæs (*g*ees) *geese*, gás (gAAS) *goose*, göra gjórt (*gər*·a gJoort) *to do*, *did*, hálmr (khAAlm·r) *halm*, hlaup (khləup) *leap*, hniósa (khnioo·sa) *sneeze*, hreinn (khrəin·n) *pure*, hvítr (khbhiit·r) *white*, kaupa (kəup·a) *to buy*, kné (kn*ee*) *knee*, kránkr (krAAqk·r) *sick*, liúga (liuga) *to tell a falsehood*, opt (*o*pt) *often*, skapt (skapt) *handle* úngr (uuq·g'r) *youth*, verd (bherd) *price*, vís (bhiis) *wise*.[1]

The following observations on the Old Norse pronunciation, based upon a phonetic examination of the structure of the language, its connection with the Teutonic branches and the usages of Old MSS., are drawn up from notes kindly furnished me by Mr. Henry Sweet, of the Philological Society (suprà p. 539, l. 9).

[1] The following is a translation of Dr. Rapp's latest views on the subject (Vergl. Gramm. iii. 40). "Of the seven long vowels, the two strongest (ii) and (uu) have remained intact. The (aa) subsequently, as everywhere else, degenerated in the direction of (*o*). The mutates of (aa, uu) must here be (EE, yy). There must be an (*o*u) corresponding to the old German diphthong *ei*, but it is here written *au*, since the mutate, if written *ey*, could only mean (*o*y); the Norwegian dialects retain (*o*u). Long (*oo*) afterwards became diphthongal, and its mutate coincides with *æ* (EE). The third long vowel wavers between gothic (iu), becoming, when softened (*geschwächt*) (i*o*), and confluent (yy). Isolated remains of (*ee*) subsequently passed into (*JEE*) as in Sclavonic; but the *e* which arises from reduplication need not necessarily be long. As regards the mutation of the short vowels, the change of (a) into (e), and of (*o*, *u*), into (y) is clear, but the mutation of (a) into (*o*) through the action of a following (u) or (*o*) is more obscure. We can theoretically assume an earliest period in which (a) remained pure, but it does not agree with the period of existing monuments. Hence we allow (a) to pass into (*o*) but entirely reject the usual assumption of the generation of of an—impossible—(œ) from (*o*). The division (*Brechung*) of short (*e*) into (ia) and by mutation (i*o*), must also be observed. As regards the consonants we assume *h* and *s*, here as elsewhere, to have been (kh, sj), though we write (s). The *z* was an abbreviation, generally for (ts), occasionally for (st), and by mistake for other combinations; the first alone must be retained. The þ is initial as in Gothic, but medially and finally it is softened to ð; as this also happens in most cases to the modern Danish *d*, both classes must be distinguished from out of the corruption of writing. This is the weakest point in northern philology. The old runic alphabet has only the aspirate þ (th) and this is used medially even in the oldest manuscripts. The modern Icelandic and Danish ð (dh) is on the contrary not an aspirate but a spirant, which is more naturally developed from (d) than from (th). But since Scandinavian orthography is here irremediably confused, nothing remains but to restore the old essential organic þ in all places where it is required by Gothic, Anglosaxon, and Friesic, and in other, partially doubtful cases, to leave *d*, so that the modern ð is altogether eliminated. The *tt*, which arose from an older (kht), must certainly be sharpened, [that is, make the preceding vowel short], since reduplication can mean nothing but confluence; the prolongation of the vowel in this case is a modern corruption, which even Grimm has overlooked, and similarly before *ng*, *nk*, and *l* followed by a consonant, etc."

When Icelanders first employed the Latin alphabet they had no written literature at all, and consequently no traditional orthography to transliterate, that is, no theoretical guide to mislead them. They had therefore, no means of writing except by ear, using the Latin letters in their accepted values, and modifying them for new sounds. Under such circumstances, it is scarcely possible that they should have—

1) expressed one sound in two ways, as in the modern identities *í ý*, *i y*, *ei ey*.
2) made *á* represent (au) to the exclusion of *au*,
3) have used *au* to express a sound (œ*i*) for which they had a form to hand, namely *öi*, unless indeed they had read in Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik (I[3], 474), that old Norse *au* corresponds to Gothic *au*, and had foreseen that the sound (au) would have been preserved in the German of the XIX th century.

A comparison of the old cognates shews that the difference between *a á*, *e é*, etc., was originally purely quantitative. In modern Icelandic, as in Modern German, all short vowels before single consonants have become long, but in old German the length or shortness of a vowel was quite independent of the following consonant, as is proved by the metrical laws. In the same way the non-accentuation of *faðir*, father, in Icelandic originally meant that the vowel was short, and the accentuation of *móðir*, mother, that the vowel was long, as in Latin *pătĕr*, *mātĕr*.[1] If this view be well founded, the vowels in each pair, as *a*, *á*, *e*, *é*, etc., must have had the same quality, but different quantities, *a*, *e*, etc., being always short, and *á*, *é*, etc., always long; and diphthongs must have had the sounds of their elements connected by the glide. The following sounds appear then to be the only possible.

a	(a, *a*)	*au*	(au, *a*u)
e	(e, *e*, E)	*ei*	(ei, *e*i, Ei)
i	(i, *i*)	*ey*	(ey, eɪ, *e*ə)
o	(o, *o*, A, ɔ)	*æ*	(ai, *a*i)
u	(u, *u*)		or (ee, *ee*, EE)
y	(y, I, ə)	*œ*	(oi, *o*i, oe, *o*e, OE)
ö	some modification of (o)		or lengthened ö

The two principal criteria for selecting the correct vowel are— 1) The palatisation of *k*, *g*, and 2) the action of vowel-mutation or *Umlaut*, (um·laut).

[1] As Icelandic still possesses really doubled consonants, the device of doubling the consonant to indicate the brevity of a preceding vowel was not likely to occur to the writer. That the length of a vowel depends in any way upon the number of following consonants is a delusion, to be classed with the notion that all vowels under the stress must be long, and deducible probably from the false statement in Latin prosodies, that a short vowel might become long "by position" before two consonants, the length of the vowel being confounded with the length of the syllable; but the Latins no doubt distinguish *est*, is, from *est*, eats, as (est, eest), and the old school joke: *Mea mater est mala sus*, could not have been ambiguous to a Latin, who would have probably distinguished the two meanings as (me·a maa·ter est mal·a suus; me·aa maa·ter, eest maa·la suus.)— A.J.E.

1) The palatisation of *k*, *g*, from (k, g) into (kj, gj) naturally takes place before front vowels (p. 13), while these consonants remain unchanged before back vowels (p. 13). Existing habits as to palatisation would hence determine

e, *i* *í*, *y* *ý*, *æ**, *ei*, *ey* to be *front* vowels, and
a *á*, *o* *ó*, *u** *ú*, *ö** *au** to be *back* vowels,

whereas those marked * transgress this rule, *æ*=(aa*i*) commencing with a *back* vowel, and *u*, *ö*, *au*=(ə, œ, œœ*i*) with a front vowel.[1]

2) Vowel mutation is the result of the partial assimilation of two vowels, not in juxtaposition, but in consecutive syllables, whereby the first or accented vowel becomes modified in the direction of the second. This may be expressed by such a formula as (a .. i = e), meaning that (a) in the first syllable acted on by (i) in the second is converted into (*e*). The original sounds of these mutated vowels or mutates, have been so changed in Icelandic, that it is necessary to examine the other Teutonic languages where they are better preserved.

(*a* .. i=E, *e*), giving (E); old Ger. *hari* (HAR·i), modern G. *heer* (HEER) army.
(*i* .. *a*=*e*, E), giving (*e*); Gothic *niman* (nim·an) modern G. *nehmen* (nee·men) to take; the (I, *e*) forms are confused in modern German.
(*o* .. i=əh, ə, I), giving (əh); old Ger. *scôni* (sko*o*·ni), mod. G. *schön* (shœœn) beautiful.
(u .. *a*=*o*, A), giving (*o*); Gothic *stulan* (stul·an), mod. G. *ge-stohlen* (ge-sht*oo*·len), stolen.
(u .. i=I), giving (I); old G. *sundia* (sund·JA), mod. G. *sünde* (zynd·e) sin.

In Icelandic we find, *her*, *nema*, *stolinn*, *synd* (HEER, nee·ma, stool·*i*n, s*i*nd) all with mutates. The equation of the last word with modern pronunciation is (u .. i = *i*) which is not a mutation at all. The old sound must have been (I) or (y), as these are the only possible intermediates. The vowel mutation also proves that the modern sound of *æ* is inorganic.

(*aa* .. i=EE), old Ger. *wâri* (bhaa·ri), Icel. *væri*.
(*oo* .. i=əh), Gothic ? *fôrjan* (*foor*·JAN), Icel. *færa*, old *fœra*.

The genuineness of the sound (œ) is made doubtful by the non-palatalisation of *k*, and this doubt is confirmed by the equation (a .. u=o), as in *dögum* for *dagum*. As both vowels are back, the result cannot be front. And the back sound of *u* is shewn 1) by the preservation of that sound in long *ú*, 2) the nonpalatisation of *k* before it, 3) the vowel mutation. The *a* .. *u*=*ö*, is merely a reversal of (u .. a=o) in *stolinn*, *ge-stohlen*, and both are quite parallel with (a .. i=e, i .. a=e).

The above conclusions result from the structure of the language,

[1] The remarks on p. 206 shew that this criterion cannot be relied on so far as æ is concerned, and, indeed, the palatal action of æ on *k*, *g*, while *a*, *d*, produced no such action, may have arisen from the anticipatory action of the second element (*i*). Nor is there any organic necessity for the palatalisation of *k*, *g*, before such obscure vowels, as (ə, œ), as we see from the fact that although both sounds are used in different parts of Germany for ö, which is also frequently called (ee) or (*ee*), yet the *k*, *g*, of *könig*, *Goethe*, are never palatalised. This criterion can therefore only furnish an à priori probability.—A. J. E.

the following is almost positive evidence of the usages of the XII th century. Þóroddr, the grammarian, circà 1160, remarks on the necessity of an A, B, C, and after stating that the English have made an alphabet for themselves by adopting or modifying the Latin letters, he proposes to perform the same service for his countrymen—*oss Íslendingum*, saying:

"To the five original Latin vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, I have added four: *ǫ* [now *ö*], *ę* [now *e*, *æ*], *ϕ* [now œ, æ], *ɥ* [now *y*]. Of these *ǫ* has the curve of *a* and the ring of *o*, because it is blended of their two sounds, being pronounced with a less open mouth than *a*, but a more open mouth than *o*; *ę* has the curve of *a* and the whole figure of *e*, for it is composed of these two, being pronounced with a less open mouth than *a*, and with a more open mouth than *e*; *ϕ* is composed of *e* and *o*, being pronounced with less open mouth than *e*, and with more open mouth than *o*; and *ɥ* is composed of *i* and *u*, being pronounced with less open mouth than *i* and with more open mouth than *u*."

He proceeds to give examples, shewing that *e* and *ę* short correspond to modern *e*, *e* long to modern *é*, *ę* long to modern *æ*, *o* to modern *o*, *ǫ* to modern *ö*, and *ϕ* to *œ* now *æ*. And then he remarks that each of these vowels begets another by being sounded in the nose, which he marks by a point above the letter. This probably corresponds to the palaeotypic (ˌ), not to (ʌ). It is now quite lost. Hence Rask's imaginary nasality, suprà p. 550, l. 3.

Þóroddr further states that each of these 18 vowels can be long or short, and proposes to mark the long vowels with an accent. His examples shew that he places this accent in those places where an accent (indicating a diphthong in the case of *á*, *ó*), now exists in Icelandic. Then he concludes by enumerating the diphthongs, describing accurately the nature of diphthongs in general. Among these diphthongs appear *au*, *ei*, *ey*, but not *á*, *ó*.

The older MSS. follow Þóroddr with some variations. Thus the diacritic is often written as a full letter, as *ao* for *ǫ*, *ae* for *ę* whence modern *æ*, and the diacritic is not unfrequently entirely omitted, so that *e*, *o*, are confounded with *ę*, *ǫ*.

The following examples shew Þóroddr's spelling compared with that now used, and the probable corresponding pronunciation. *Abbreviations*—Þ. Þóroddr's spelling, M. modern spelling, OP. old pronunciation, MP. modern pronunciation.

Þ.	M.	O.P.	M.P.	Þ.	M.	Þ.	M.	O.P.	M.P.	Þ.	M.
a	a	*a*, a	a aa	far	far	ǫ	ö	o	œ œœ	ǫl	öl
á	á	*aa*, aa	au aau	sár	sár	ǫ́	o	oo	o oo	vǫ́n	von
e	e	*e*	e, ee	þel	þel	u	u	u(ˌ)	*ə əə*	runar	runar
ę	e	E(ˌ)	e, ee	vę́nia	venja	ú	ú	uu(ˌ)	u uu	rúnar	rúnar
é	é	*ee*	JE	mér	mér	y	y	I	*i ii*	flytr	flytr
ę́	æ	EE	ai aai	vę́r	vær	ý	ý	II	i ii	flýtr	flýtr
i	i	i	*i ii*	vil	vil	au	au	au	œi œœi		
í	í	ii	i ii	víl	víl	ei	ei	*ei*	*ei eei*		
o	o	*o*	o oo	goþ	goð	ey	ey	*ey*	*ei eei*		
ó	ó	*oo*	*ou oou*	góþ	góð						

The sound of the various *e*'s is evident from the remark that *ę* is pronounced more openly than *e*, and more like *a*. The higher sound was given to the *i* as *mér*, German *mir*. The other *e* was an *a*, *vęnia*, old German *wanian*. In *ǫl*, the anglosaxon *ealu* explains the vowel mutation. In *vǫn* the *ǫ* is a mutate of *a*, produced by the preceding *v*, and the pronunciation has been preserved unchanged. The *ey* is a mutate of *au*, *heyra*=Gothic *hausjan*, thus (*a*u .. i=EI) the (i) soon drawing up the (E) to (*e*).

Modern Changes.—The change of (EE) to (ai) is merely the converse of the Latin *æ* to *ê*.[1]

The *á* (*aa*) was first rounded (ɔɔ) and then broken up into (aau), as is shewn by the occasional MS. spelling *ǫ* for *á*.

The change from back (o) to front (œ) is paralleled by the English and most modern Danish pronunciation of (æ) for (*a*).

The *au* changes are very complicated. First, the *a* was rounded by the *u* into (o), as appears by the MSS. shewing *ǫu*, *aou*, *ou* for *au*. Next the resulting first element, being now identical with *ǫ* (o) was, with it, changed from back to front, into *ö* (œ). Lastly the second element *u* (u) was changed by the action of the new front element (œ) into some front element as (ɪ) which finally became (i). Thus we have the stages (au .. ou .. œu .. œɯ .. œi), where (œu, œɯ), represents Rask's conjectural forms.

Þóroddr counts *ll*, *nn*, among the doubled consonants. He allows a double final consonant, which of course must have been a lengthened or 'held' consonant (suprà p. 52), as in *hann*=(HANN), not (HAN). He writes þ everywhere, to the exclusion of ð, but whether this establishes a uniformity of pronunciation is very questionable.

The following few lines will give a notion of this conjectured ancient pronunciation, which is placed under the present orthography, a verbatim translation being also interlined.

Haustlöng. (Haustlo,qg.) *Autumn-long* (*night*).

Eðr of-sér, er iötna ótti lét ofsóttan
(Edh·r *ov*-*seer*, *er* iot·na *oot*·*te* *leet* *ov*·*soot*·ta,n)
Again thou-seest how of-the-giants the-terror let-sought

Hellisbrör á hyrjar haug Grjótúna bauge;
(Hel·lesbror aa, HYR·iar HAUG Gri*oo*·tuu,na bau·ge;)
Of-the-cave-the-dweller in of-fire the-hill of-Griótún with-ring

'Ok at isarnleiki Jarðar sunr, en dundi
(*Oo*k at ii·sarnl*ei*ke Iardh·ar su,nr *e*,n du,n·d*e*)
Drove to the-iron-play Earth's sun, and resounded

Móðr svall Meila bróður mánavegr und hanum.
(Mo*o*·dhr swall M*ei*l·la, bro*o*·dhur maa,n·a,wegr u,nd HA,n·u,m.)
Rage swelled Meili's of-the-brother moon-way under him.

[1] This converse action is rare, but we have a living English example, suprà p. 294, bottom, and note 2, and p. 454, note 1.

Knáttu öll en Ullar endilág fyrir mági
(Knaat·tu, oll *e*,n ul·lar e,n·d*e*laag fyr·*er* maa·g*e*)
Could all and Ullr's under-lying before the-kinsman

Grund vas grapi hrundin ginnúngavé brinna;
(Gru,nd was grap·*e* rhu,nd·*e*,n gi,n·nuu,qga-w*ee* bri,n·na,;)
The-ground was with-storm shaken the-wide-dwellings burn;

Þá-es hofreginn hafrir hógreiðar fram drógu
(Dhaa-*e*s HOV·rege,nn HAV·*rer* HOOG·*rei*dhar fra,m dr*oo*·gu,)
When the-temple-god the-goats of-the-elegant-chariot forwards drew

Seðr gékk Svölnis ekkja sundr at Hrúngnis fundi.
(Sedh·r g*ee*kk Swœl·n*e*s ekkia su,ndr at Rhuu,qg·n*e*s fu,n·d*e*.)
Nearly went Svölnir's wife asunder to Hrúngnir's meeting (find).[1]

3. GOTHIC.

In order properly to crown the edifice of the low German and Scandinavian dialects, it is necessary to consider the pronunciation of Ulfilas as collected from his Gothic translation of the Testament, etc. Grimm, Rapp, Gabelentz and Loebe, and Weingaertner,[2] are the principal authorities. From a study of these works and the grounds on which they rely, I have arrived at certain conclusions of my own, which must be understood as referring to the pronunciation of Gothic at the time of Ulfilas, considered as a comparatively modern stage of the language. There are good etymological grounds for believing that many Gothic words containing *ai*, *au*, *iu* had at some previous time, a different sound from that which I have assigned, as for instance (ái, áu, íu), suprà, p. 236, note 1. But details are here purposely omitted. The following table contains the opinions of the writers cited, as nearly as I could appre-

[1] The title means Autumn-long, löng being the fem. of the adj. lóngr; nótt = night, seems to be understood; compare the similar old German phrase "den sumerlangen tac," the summer-long day. None of the editors translate the word, and they seem not to understand it. The subject of the poem is a fight between the god Þórr and the giant Hrúngir. The poet describes the fight as depicted on a shield. The meaning of the passage, which is very obscure in the above verbatim translation following the inverted order of the poet, seems to be as follows: Again thou seest [on the shield] how the terror of the giants [meaning Þórr], let sought [*let* periphrastic = *visited*] the cave-dweller in the Griótún-hill with a ring of fire, [Þórr's chariot was accompanied with thunder and lightning]; Earth's sun [that is, Þórr] drove to the iron-play [fight], anger inspired Meili's brother [another name for Þórr], and the moon-way [= earth] resounded under him. All the wide dwellings [= the air] could burn [burned], and the ground lying beneath was shaken with the storm before the kinsman of Ullr [Þórr again]: Svölnis wife [*ekkja* literally *widow* = earth] nearly went to pieces, when the goats drew forward the temple-god of the elegant chariot to meet Hrúngnir.

[2] *J. Grimm*, Deutsche Grammatik, I², 33–74; I³, 39–71; *M. Rapp*, Phys. d. Spr., i 371–401; *Dr. H. C. von Gabelentz und Dr. J. Loebe*, Grammatik der Gothischen Sprache, 1846, pp–22–52. *Wilhelm Weingaertner*, Die Aussprache des Gothischen zur Zeit Ulfilas, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 68. This last work contains complete references to all the former essays and books on this subject.

ciate their meaning, a (?) indicate the chief points of doubt. The transcription used is that employed in Gabelentz and Loebe's well-known edition but the letters are arranged in the order of the Roman Alphabet, reckoning þ as *th*. Leo Meyer's work (Die Gothische Sprache, ihre Lautgestaltung u.s.w.) came to hand too late to be consulted in the construction of this table.

THE GOTHIC ALPHABET OF ULFILAS.

Abbreviations.—G Grimm, G L Von Gabelentz and Loebe, E Ellis, L letters, R Rapp, W Weingaertner.

L	G	R	GL	W	E	L	G	R	G L	W	E
a	a	a	a	a	a	j	J	J	*g*h	J	J
ai		e, ee	e, ee	e, ee	e, ee	k	k	k	k	k	k
(aí)	e ?					l	l	l	l	l	l
(ái)	ai					m	m	m	m	m	m
au		ɔ, ɔɔ	o, oo	o, oo	A, AA	n	n	n	n	n	n
(aú)	o ?					o	*oo*	*oo*		*oo*	*oo*
(áu)	au					p	p	p	p	p	p
b	b	b	b, bh ?	b	b	q	kbh	kbh		kbh	k*w*
d	d	d	d	dh	d, dh ?	r	r	r	'r	r, *r*	r
e	*ee*	*ee*	*ee*	*ee*	*ee*	s	s	sj	s	s	s
ei	éi	ii	ei	ii	ii	t	t	t	t	t	t
f	f		bh	f	f	þ	th	th	dh	th	th
g	g	g	g, gh	g	g	u	u	*o*, uu	u, uu	u	u, uu
gg	q ?	qg	q, qg,	q, qg	q, qg	v	bh	bh	bh,	bh, v	w
gk		qk	qk	qk	qk	w	khbh	khbh		ph, HV ?	k*w*h
h	kh	kh	H, kh	H'	H', kh	x		k	k	k	k
i, ï	i	*e*	i	i	i	y				i, ii	i, ii
iu	íu	íu	íu	II	yy	z	ds	sj	z	z	z

In order to compare this dialect with the related Anglosaxon and Icelandic, I annex the conjectured pronunciation of the same parable that was selected for examples in those languages. This is also the same example or Gothic as Dr. Rapp has given. The verbatim translation is, as before, intended merely to shew the grammatical signification of each word.

Gothic, Lucas 15, 11-32.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
11. manne sums aihta tvans sununs.	11. Man·n*ee* sums ekht·a twans sun·uns.
12. jah qaþ sa juhiza ïze du attin. atta. gif mis. sei undrinnai mik. dail aiginis. jah disdailida ïm sves sein.	12. Jakh k*w*ath sa JUKH·iza iz·*ee* du at·tin: At·ta, gif mis, sii und·rin·nee mik deel eeg·inis. Jakh disdeel·ida im sw*ee*s siin.

Verbatim Translation.

11. Of-men certain owned two sons.

12. Eke quoth the younger of-them to dad: Dad, give to-me, which unto-runs me, deal (part) of-ownings. Eke asunder-dealed to-them property his.

13. jah afar ni managans dagans brahta samana allata sa juhiza sunus jah aflaiþ ïn land fairra visando jah jainar distahida þata sves seinata libands usstiuriba.

14. biþe þan fravas allamma. varþ huhrus abrs and gavi jainata. jah ïs dugann alaþarba vairþan

15. jah gaggands gahaftida sik sumamma baurgjane jainis gaujis. jah ïnsandida ïna haiþjos seinaizos haldan sveina.

16. jah gairnida sad ïtan haurne. þoei matidedun sveina. jah manna ïmma ni gaf.

17. qimands þan ïn sis qaþ. wan filu asnje attins meinis ufarassau haband hlaibe. ïþ ïk huhrau fraqistna.

18. usstandands gagga du attin meinamma jah qiþa du ïmma. atta. fravaurhta mis ïn himin jah ïn andvairþja þeinamma.

19. ju þanaseiþs ni ïm vairþs ei haitaidau sunus þeins. gatavei mik sve ainana asnje þeinaize.

13. Jakh af·ar ni man·agans dag·ans brakht·a sam·ana al·lata sa JUKH·iza sun·us, jakh afleeth· in land fer·ra wis·and*oo*, JAKH JEEN·ar distakh·ida that·a sw*ee*s siin·ata lib·ands usstyyr·iba.

14. Bithee· than frawas· al·-lam·ma, warth H'uukh·rus ab·'rs and ga·wi JEEN·ata. Jakh is dugan· al·atharb·a werth·an.

15. Jakh gaq·gands GAH'aft·-ida sik sum·am·ma BARG·JANEE JEEN·is GAA·JIS. Jakh insand·ida in·a H'eeth·j*oo*s siin·ee*zoo*s H'ald·-an swiin·a

16. Jakh gern·ida sad it·an HAR·n*ee*, th*oo*·ii mat·id*ee*d·un swiin·a. Jakh man·na im·ma ni gaf.

17. k*w*im·ands than in sis, k*w*ath: K*w*han fil·u as·NJ*ee* at·-tins miin·is uf·aras·SAA HAB·and khleeb·*ee*, ith ik H'uukh·TAA frak*w*ist·na.

18. Us·stand·ands gaq·ga du at·tin miin·am·ma, JAKH k*w*ith·a du im·ma: At·ta, fraWARKH·ta mis in H'im·in, JAKH in and·-werth·JA thiin·am·ma,

19. JU than·asiiths ni im werths ii H'eet·eedAA sun·us thiins; gata·wii mik sw*ee* een·-ana as·NJ*ee* thiin·ee*zee*.

Verbatim Translation.

13. Eke after not many days brought together all the younger son, and off-led (departed) in land far being, eke yon asunder-tugged (dissipated) the possession his, living out-steeringly.

14. By-that then from-was of-all, worth (became) hunger strong against region yon, eke he began quite-needy to-worth (to-become).

15. Eke ganging joined himself to-certain of-burghers of-yon region; eke in-sent him of-heath his to-hold swine.

16. Eke yearned full to-eat of-horns (husks), which meated (ate as meat or food) swine; eke man to-him not gave.

17. Coming then in himself, quoth: How many hirelings of-dad mine in-overmuch (abundantly) have of-loaves, but I by-hunger perish.

18. Out-standing I-go to dad mine, eke say to him, Dad, I-from-wrought (I-sinned) for-me in (against) heaven eke in face thine.

19. Now the-since (longer) not am worthy that I-may-hight son thine; y-do (make) me as one of-hirelings thine.

20. jah usstandands qam at attin seinamma. nauhþanuh þan fairra visandan gasaw ïna atta ïs jah ïnfeinoda jah þragjands draus ana hals ïs jah kukida ïmma.

21. jah qaþ ïmma sa sunus. atta. fravaurhta ïn himin jah in andvairþja þeinamma. ju þanaseiþs ni ïm vairþs ei haitaidau sunus þeins.

22. qaþ þan sa atta du skalkam seinaim. sprauto briggiþ vastja þo frumiston jah gavasjiþ ïna jah gibiþ figgraguljþ ïn handu ïs jah gaskoh ana fotuns ïs.

23. jah briggandans stiur þana alidan ufsneiþiþ. jah matjandans visam vaila.

24. unte sa sunus meins dauþs vas jah gaqiunoda jah fralusans vas jah bigitans varþ. jah dugunnun visan.

25. vasuþþan sunus ïs sa alþiza ana akra jah qimands atïddja new razn jah gahausida saggvins jah laikans.

26. jah athaitands sumana magive frahuh. wa vesi þata.

20. Jakh us·stand·ands k*w*am at at·tin siin·am·ma. Nakh·than·ukh than fer·ra wis·andan gasak*w*h· in·a at·ta is, Jakh infiin·*oo*da Jakh thrag·Jands drAAs an·a H'als is Jakh kuk·ida im·ma.

21. Jakh k*w*ath im·ma sa sun·us: At·ta, frawarkht·a in Him·in Jakh in and·werth·Ja thiin·am·ma, Ju than·asiiths ni im werths ii H'eet·eedAA sun·us thiins.

22. K*w*ath than sa at·ta du skalk·am siin·eem: SprAAt·*oo* briq·gith wast·Ja th*oo* frum·ist*oo*n Jakh gawas·Jith in·a Jakh gib·ith fiq·gragulth in H'and·u is, Jakh gask*oo*kh· an·a f*oo*t·uns is.

23. Jakh briq·gandans styyr than·a al·idan uf·sniith·ith, Jakh mat·Jandans wis·am weel·a.

24. Un·t*ee*, sa sun·us miins dAAths was Jakh gak*w*yyn·*oo*da, Jakh fralus·ans was Jakh bigit·ans warth. Jakh dugun·nun wis·an.

25. Was·uth·than sun·us is sa al·thiza an·a ak·ra, Jakh k*w*im·ands at·id·dJa nek*w*h raz·n, Jakh gaH'AAs·ida saq·gwins Jakh leek·ans.

26. Jakh at·H'eet·ands sum·ana mag·iw*ee* frakh·ukh, k*w*ha w*ee*s·i that·a.

Verbatim Translation.

20. Eke out-standing came to dad his; still then far being saw him dad of-him, eke pitied, eke running fell on neck of-him, eke kissed him.

21. Eke quoth to-him the son, Dad, I-from-wrought (I-sinned) in (against) heaven eke in face thine. Now thesince (longer) not am worthy that I-may-hight son thine.

22. Quoth then the dad to servants his, Quickly bring vest the from-est (first, best), eke in-vest him, eke give finger-gold in hand of-him, eke shoes on feet of-him,

23. And bringing steer the fatted up-cut, eke meating (eating food) let-us-be well.

24. Unto-that (because) the son mine dead was, eke y-quickened, eke lost was, eke be-gotten worth (became). Eke they-began to-be (to feast).

25. Was-then son of-him the elder on acre, eke coming to-went (approached) near house, eke heard song eke games.

26. Eke to-calling certain of-boys, asked, what were that.

27. þaruh ïs qaþ du ïmma. þatei broþar þeins qam. jah ufsmaiþ atta þeins stiur þana alidan. unte hailana ïna andnam.

28. þanuh modags varþ jah ni vilda ïnngaggan. ïþ atta ïs usgaggands ut bad ïna.

29. þaruh ïs andhafjands qaþ du attin. sai. sva filu jere skalkinoda þus jah ni wanhun anabusn þeina ufarïddja. jah mis ni aiv atgaft gaitein ei miþ frijondam meinaim bivesjan.

30. ïþ þan sa sunus þeins. saei fret þein sves miþ kalkjom. qam. ufsnaist ïmma stiur þana alidan.

31. þaruh qaþ du ïmma. barnilo. þu sinteino miþ mis vast jah ïs. jah all þata mein þein ïst.

32. vaila visan jah faginon skuld vas. unte broþar þeins dauþs vas jah gaqiunoda. jah fralusans jah bigitans varþ.

27. Thar-ukh is kwath du im-ma: That-ii brooth-ar thiins kwam, jakh uf-sneeth-at-ta thiins styyr than-a al-idan, un-ter h-eel-ana in-a andnam.

28. Than-ukh mood-ags warth, jakh ni wil-da in-gaq-gan. Ith at-ta is us-gaq-gands ut bad in-a.

29. Thar-ukh is andh-af-jands kwath du at-tin: See, swa fil-u jeer-ee skalk-inood-a thus, jakh ni kwhan-h-un an-abus-n thiin-a uf-ar,id-dja. Jakh mis ni eew at-gaft. geet-iin ii mith frijoond-am miin-eem biwees-JAA.

30. Ith than sa sun-us thiins, sa,ii-fret thiin swees mith kalk-joom, kwam, uf-sneest-im-ma styyr than-a al-idan.

31. Thar-ukh kwath du im-ma: Barn-iloo! thu sint-iinoo mith mis wast jakh is; jakh al that-a miin thiin ist.

32. Weel-a wis-an jakh fag-inoon skuld was un-tee brooth-ar thiins DAATHS was jakh gakwyyn-ooda, jakh fralus-anz jakh bigit-ans warth.

Verbatim Translation.

27. Then he quoth to him, that brother thine came, eke up-cut dad thine steer the fatted, unto-that (because) whole him received.

28. Then moody worth (became), eke not would in-go. But dad of-him out-going out bad him.

29. Then he to-heaving (answering) quoth to dad, Lo, so many years served to-thee, eke not whenever command thine over-went (transgressed), eke to-me not ever at-gave goat, that with friends mine might-feast.

30. But then (when) the son thine, who devoured thine possession with harlots, came, thou-up-cuttest for him steer the fatted.

31. Then quoth to him, Little-son, thou always with me wast, eke art, eke all the mine thine is.

32. Well to-be eke to rejoice due was, unto-that (because) brother thine dead was, eke y-quickened; eke lost, eke be-gotten worth (became).

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ORTHOGRAPHY WITH PRONUNCIATION FROM THE ANGLOSAXON TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

§ 1. *The Value of the Letters.*

The several conclusions arrived at respecting the sounds of the letters in English orthography are necessarily very irregularly scattered through the preceding pages. The nature of the investigation which obliged us to commence with the XVI th century, then descend through the XVII th to the XVIII th, and immediately jump to the XIV th, and then after a glance at the XV th, commence the consideration of the XIII th century, has not produced an order which is convenient or satisfactory to the reader. In the present section then the results will be arranged in a tabular form, in alphabetical order. A reference to the pages in which the several statements are established, is occasionally given, but as it was found impracticable to introduce it concisely into the text in all cases, the indices at the end of the book must be consulted. The outline index annexed will enable the reader to refer immediately to the principal combinations.

The construction of the Table is as follows. All the single letters or combinations of letters which have been used as parts of words in English orthography, from the Anglosaxon period to the present day, such as *a*, *aa*, *æ*, *ae*, *a-e* (meaning *a* followed by some consonant and then by *e* final), *af*, *-age* (meaning *age* final) *ah*, *ai*, *al*, *all*, *an*, *-ange*, *ao*, *aou*, *ar*, *as*, *-aste*, *ath*, *au*, *augh*, *aun*, *aw*, *awe*, *ay*, *ayo*, *b*, etc., are placed in alphabetical order at the head of separate paragraphs, as in a dictionary, and then the history of the different sounds that each has represented is sketched in accordance with previous results, using

ags., for the Anglosaxon period,
13., for the XIII th century and earlier.
14., 15., 16., 17., 18., 19., for the XIV th, XV th, XVI th, XVII th, XVIII th, and XIX th centuries respectively.
The passages inserted in brackets at the end of some articles, signed P., are due to Mr. Payne, see infrà, pp. 579–80.

OUTLINE INDEX TO THE PRINCIPAL COMBINATIONS.

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EE
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Y consonant.
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16. 17. 18. 184.

Z
14. 310, 317,
16. 17. 18. 214.

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE VALUES OF LETTERS.

A ags. was both a short and a long sound (*a*, *aa*), but the long sound was sometimes written *á*. Short *a* in an open unaccented syllable was probably (a). After ags., *a* in an open accented syllable was considered as long, and in a closed syllable generally short. In 13. 14. 15. 16. *a* seems to have been (a, aa), although in the earlier part of this time it may have been (*a*, *aa*). Probably towards the end of 16. it passed into (ah, aah), a sound frequent in 19. In 17. it became (æ, ææ), and at the latter end of 17. and beginning of 18., it seems to have fallen into (æ, ee). These changes seem to have occurred towards the close of 15. or even earlier in Scotland, p. 410, n. 3, and perhaps in the Northern and West Midland Counties, p. 450, n. 2. See references under *ey*. Perhaps during the latter part of 18. there came into use a distinction, thoroughly established in 19., that long *a* should be (*ee*) unless followed by *r*, and that then it should be (ee); compare n*a*ming, M*a*ry (n*ee*m·*i*q, Meeɹ·r*i*). In 19. long *a* is frequently pronounced (*eei*) in place of (*ee*), as (n*ee*im) for (n*ee*m), pp. 234, 272, n. 3; 294, n. 2. Short *a* has remained (æ) from 17. to 19. These general usages have been crossed by the action of a following *f*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *th*, see *af*, *an*, *ar*, *as*, *ath*, and the other combinations which follow. An initial (w) acted in the latter part of 17. and subsequently, in many, but by no means all words, to convert (æ) into (ʌ) or (ɔ), as in *was*, *what*, etc. In 19. *a* has been variously degraded as in: h*a*ting, f*a*ther, w*a*ter, m*a*ny, h*a*t, w*a*nt, rib*a*nd =(ʜ*ee*t·*i*q, f*aa*dh·ɹ, wʌʌt·ɹ, men·*i*, ʜæt, wʌnt, r*i*b·ʊn).

AA was in 14. occasionally used for (aa) in closed syllables. Otherwise it was only employed in biblical names, as Aaron, Isaac, and then it followed the sound of long or short *a*. It was occasionally for German *aa*, and then from 17. it was (ʌʌ).

Æ ags. (æ, ææ), p. 510, in 13. sank to (ᴇ, ᴇᴇ) or (e, ee), pp. 487, 496, 498. It was rarely used in 13., and not at all afterwards, except in words borrowed from the Latin or Greek, and then it was (ee) till 18., towards the close of which it became (ii) in such cases. But scholars still occasionally say (e) as in: Pæstum = (Pest·ʊm) rather than (Piis·tʊm), which is also heard. [In 13. *æ* = (ee) in Norman and English.—P.]

AE was never an English combination, but, resulting from biblical names or Latin adaptations, it seems to have been treated as a+e, or æ. In 19. we have *ae*rie, Mich*ae*l, *ae*rial, Isr*ae*l = (eeɹ·r*i* iiɹ·r*i*, Məi·kʊl, *e*,er·*i*ʊl eeɹ·riʊl iiɹ·riʊl, *Iz*·r*ee*l *Iz*·rel *Iz*·rʊl). [In 13. *ae*=æ=(ee) in Norman and English. —P.]

A—E, that is *a* followed by some consonant and a final *e*, which, when pronounced, had the effect of putting *a* into an open syllable, and therefore making it long, so that when the final *e* ceased to be pronounced, it was presumed to have the same effect of lengthening the preceding vowel. Hence *a*—*e* was assumed to be long *a*, with the sound of the time, from 16. to 19. Perhaps this feeling came in towards the close of 15. The rule is not consistently carried out in 19,; compare: h*a*te, *a*re, landsc*a*pe, furn*a*ce, h*a*ve = (ʜ*ee*t, aaɹ, lænd·sk*i*p, fɹ·n*y*s, ʜæv). Even in 16. the vowel was not long in unaccented syllables.

AF, this combination presents nothing peculiar till 18. or 19. and then only in certain words: graff, staff, distaff, quaff, aft, after, abaft, haft, shaft, raft, craft, draft, graft, waft, and laugh, calf, half, which must be considered to have the same combination. Here usage differs. The common southern pronunciation is (aaf), and even (*aa*f) may be heard; the fine educated northern pronunciation is (æf). Ladies in the South and many educated gentlemen say (ahf) or at most (aahf). But (af) is also heard. Those who use the finer sounds, ridicule the others as vulgar, and write them *larf*, etc., declaring that an *r* is introduced, but this arises from their own omission of (r) and preservation of (aa), in: barm, starve, etc. See *ar*, *or*, and the citation under *o*, p. 575, col. 1.

AG in late ags. and 12. or 13. was probably equivalent to (ai).

Aʒʒ, Orrmin's form of (ai), p. 488.

-AGE. In 16. the *ge*=(dzh) seems to have influenced the preceding *a* by introducing an (i) sound, as (aidzh), p. 120; and in 17. to 19. this *a* has followed the fortunes of *ai*, which see.

AH, as an exclamation, has probably always represented (aa), although the corresponding exclamation was not always represented by *ah*. In *dahlia* it is now pronounced (*ee*).

AI in 14. = (ai, aai), which sounds apparently remained to the end of 16., though the pronunciation (ee) was in use by a large number of speakers. In 17. after a passage through (ahi, æi), the sound rapidly sank to (ee), but whether the sound (eei) was not occasionally heard cannot be ascertained with certainty. In 19., (*ee*, *eei*) are both usual forms. Various degradations are heard in 19., as: dem*ai*n, s*ai*l, S*ai*nt John, s*ai*d, pl*ai*d, Brit*ai*n (dimiin·, s*ee*l, Sin·dzhun, sed, plæd, Brit·'n), and *dais*, which was a monosyllable in Chaucer, 372 = (dais), but has become dissyllabic = (d*ee*·is). For 13. see pp. 431, 440, 467, 473, 506; 14. 459, 462; 15. 447. See especially p. 459, n. 1, and the passages there referred to, and also Chap. VII. § 1. The use of (ai) for (ee) seems fixed in Scotland at the beginning of 16., p. 410, n. 3. [In 13. and 14. *ai* = *ay* = (ee) in Norman and English; in 16. often, if not generally = (ai) in English, infrà p. 582. —P.]

AL, ALL in 16. and hence probably for some time previously the *l* had begun seriously to influence the preceding vowel, by being pronounced ('l) with a very appreciable length of murmur or being labialised into (l*w*); the result in either case, accepted as (ul), produced the diphthong (aul), which was firmly established in 16. See *l*, p. 193. This was occasionally followed by the total disappearance of the *l*, as in: talk, calm = (tauk, kaum). Then this *al* was considered as tantamount to *au*, and followed its changes, becoming (AA) in 17. and in most words so remaining to 19.; but in some words, as (p*al*m, c*al*m), although occasionally called (PAAM, KAAM) in 17., and in Irish-English, p. 76, the combination seems to have generally resisted the change to (AA), and rather to have passed from (aau, aa') to simple (aa), as we still hear (paam, kaam), refined by some to (paahm kaahm, pææm kææm, pæm kæm); while others, inorganically and purely orthographically, attempt to say (pælm, kælm). See *au*, *aun*.

AN. In 16. French words now having the nasal vowel (aA) were heard as having (aun), p. 143, and hence the writing *aun* much prevailed then; and as we also find this orthography in 14., probably the same effect was produced on English ears by that French sound. In 16. *aun* was occasionally replaced by *an*, as *commaund*, *command*, but probably the sound (aun) remained. In 17. the sound became (AAN), and during 18. and even into 19. this sound remains, although there is, and perhaps always was, a tendency to fall, on the one hand into (aan), on the other into (an), with their various refinements; see *af*. Thus *romance* *romantic* have now generally (æn), but (AAN) is occasionally heard, and forty years ago I was familiar with (rom*AA*ns·, rom*aa*ns·). In comm*a*nd, dem*a*nd, etc., the contest is among (an aan, *an aan*, æn ææn, ahn aahn). In *daunt*, *gaunt*, *haunt*, *gauntlet*, *jaunt*, *taunt*, *vaunt*, all the last named sounds may be heard, and also (AAN), but never (AN). It would be convenient to use (aan) for (*an*) in all words where it corresponds to the modern French (aA). See *au*.

-ANGE. In 16. the sound (i) was inserted as (aindzh), p. 120, and the combination was treated in 17. as if written *-ainge*, the *a* becoming (ee) and then (*ee*) or (*eei*) in 19. In unaccented syllables it drops into (-*e*ndzh, or -*i*ndzh) properly (-*y*ndzh), as oranges = (ɔr·*y*ndzh*y*z).

AO. This is never recognized as a true English combination, though it occurs in g*ao*l now (dzh*ee*l), and by accidental attraction in extr*ao*rdinary, now (ekstrAAI·dinerɪ), and foreign words, as: Phar*ao*h, *ao*rta, Ch*ao*s, now (Feeɪ·ro, *e*,ɔɪ·tə, Kee·ɔs). The old pronunciation of *gaol* is doubtful. *Extraordinary* was probably always treated as a compound, compare "afford no extraordinary gaze," Henry IV. part 1, act 3, sc. 2, v. 78.

AOU. This French mode of writing (au) is only met with in c*aou*tchouc, generally called (kəutsh·*u*k), but occasionally (kuut·tsh*u*k) in 19.

AR. The vocal character of *r* as ('r) seems to have acted upon the preceding vowels in all cases after 16. Probably *ar*, when not followed by a vowel, remained (ar) or (aɪ), though unacknowledged, during 17. 18. 19., with the variation (aaɪ), which is in 19.

frequently reduced to simple (aa). But *ar* was frequently called (ær) or (æɹ) in 17. and 18., and the sound is still heard in American English. In the present usage of the South of England the (ɹ) is practically dropped, pp. 196, 245. See *o*, *or*, *r*.

AS. In a few words of 19. the *s* seems to react on the *a*, as: pass, class, mast, fast, in which *a* receives all the variety of sound noticed in *af*, *an*, as (pæs pææs, pas pass, p*a*s p*aa*s, pahs paahs). In other words, as: passage classify, (*classics* sometimes follows the rule of *class*), gas, (*mastiff* is doubtful), no such action takes place. It is not noticed by older writers, and is therefore probably modern, but it may be merely a remnant of the 16. and earlier (as).

-ASTE, in 16. and earlier (ast), but in 19. we have: haste, paste, taste, waste (now distinguished from *waist*, which was not the case in 16., see p. 73, note 1) = (H*ee*st, p*ee*st, t*ee*st, w*ee*st). Here the action of *s* is precisely contrary to that in *as*. No clue to this change has been discovered, but we may conjecture an intermediate (HÆÆst, pææst) during 17. Could there have been an inserted *i*, as indicated by the spelling *waist* in one sense of 16. *waste*, analogous to that in *-ange*, *ash*, *lash*, pp. 120, 264?

ATH. In: path, bath, lath, wrath, *th* seems to have acted as *f*, *s* (see *af*, *as*) in preserving the (a) sound, or its modern variants (*a* æ ah), short and long, in 19.

AU. See *aww*. At a very early period in 13. and 14. *au*, *aw* were (au), which sound remained to 16. Either at the close of 16. or beginning of 17. it seems to have passed through (*a*u, *aa*u, *aa'*) into (AA), in which form it was firmly established in 17. and has remained with little or no change, but is occasionally (aa). See *aun*, *an*. In 19. we have isolated degradations, compare: g*au*ging, *au*nt, h*au*l, h*au*teur, Jerv*au*lx, l*au*rel, meersch*au*m, Menel*au*s = (g*ee*dzh·*i*q, aant, HAAl, H*oo*tɹɹ·, Dzhaaɹ·v*i*s, lAr·el, miiɹ·shum, Menil*ee*·əs), where the foreign words have received an English pronunciation. [In 13. and 14. *au* generally (au), but before *n*, especially in 14. = (aaə) in Norman and English, infrà p. 583.—P.]

AUGH. This must be considered as a double combination *au*+*gh*, the first part follows *au*, the second *gh*, hence in 14. laugh = (laukh, lauk*w*h, lauwh), in 16. = (laukh, lauH'), in 17. (lææf) or (læf), perhaps also (laaf) as in 19. See *af*. The *gh* becoming occasionally mute, *augh* was treated altogether like *au*, as in: taught, caught = (tAAt, kAAt).

AUN. See *an*.

AW. This was precisely equivalent to *au*. In 14. it was used in the middle as well as at the end of a word. In 16. and afterwards it was seldom used except when final, though we still write: awl, awning, brawl, crawl, prawn, sprawl, etc.

AWW. Orrmin's form of (au), p. 488.

AY. Precisely equivalent to *ai*. In 14. used in the middle as well as end of words; in 16. and afterwards generally final. See references under *ai*, *ei*.

AYO. In the word m*ayo*r = (meeɹ) in 19., *ayo* may be considered as a single combination, but it is properly *ay*+*o*; M*ayo* is generally called (M*ee*·*o*).

B. Ags. to 19. = (*b*), but in 19. not unfrequently written when not pronounced as in de*b*t, dou*b*t, lam*b*, *b*del. lium, su*b*tile; in de*b*t, dou*b*t it was not pronounced and generally not written in 16., p. 211, n. 2. It was mute in 17. in all the cases in which it remains so in 19.

BB. Like other doubled letters, had the sound of the single letter (b), being only used to indicate a preceding accented short vowel.

C. In ags. always (k) or (*k*), but at a later period of ags. the (*k*) seems to have become (tsh), p. 511. See *ch*. In 13. it is apparently not used before (e, i), except in the combination *-sce* = *-sse*, and then it was (s); but in 14. when French words were freely introduced it was (s) before *e*, *i* and (k) otherwise, and so it has remained; but see *ce-*, *ci*.

CC. In ags. the same as *c*, but indicating that the preceding vowel was short and generally accented; in later times either (k) or (ks) as in: account, accident = (ækəunt·, æk·s*i*dunt) in 19.

CCH in 14. used for *tch* = (t+tsh), and pronounced (tsh), shortening the preceding vowel.

CE. Till 18. this seems to have been simply *c*+*e*. At the end of 17. it changed to (sh) in in ocean. See *ci*, *si*, *ti*.

CH. Not used in ags., but in 13. found in the signification of (tsh), the sound into which (*k*) had fallen, and as such it has remained. In words from the Greek as ar*ch*itect it is (k) in 19., and probably was so in 14.; in words from the modern French as *ch*aise it is (sh) in 19., but for French words introduced before 18. as *ch*ain, the sound (tsh) seems to have prevailed. In a few final syllables as: Greenwich, Woolwich, Norwich, it has become (dzh) in 19., but in others it remains (tsh), as Ipswich, locally (*I*ps·idzh), p. 512, n. 2. In fu*ch*sia = (fiu·shia) it is mute. See *si*-. In 13. it was rarely used as *gh* = (kh), p. 441. In modern Scotch it has the three sounds (*k*h, kh, k*w*h) determined generally by the preceding vowel.

CI-. Till 18. this appears to have been simply *s*+*i*, but then it fell into (sh), as spe*ci*al, spe*ci*ous, offi*ci*al = (spesh·ɐl, spii·shɐs, ofish·ɐl). See *si*-, *ti*-.

CK. This means *kk* or (*k*) from 14. to 19., but in 14. *kk* is frequently used.

CW in ags., p. 514, probably = (k*w*) that is nearly (kw); replaced by *qu* after ags.

CZ. This is a modern combination used chiefly in Sclavonic words, as *Czech*, Bohemian (tshekh), but English (tshek): *Czar* is called (zaaɹ) in 19., but its Russian initial is (ts).

D ags. to 19. = (d). When, however, the past participle *ed* dropped its *e*, the *d* changed to (t) after mutes or hisses, as: capped, sacked, quaffed, kissed, at least in 17. and probably even in 13. as *bliscedd* = (blist), p. 444, note 2. In 19. *d* is palatised into (dj, dɹ), and ultimately (dzh), in many cases, acknowledged or repudiated, as: soldier = (so*o*l·dzhɹ), verdure = (vɹ·diuɹ, vɹ·djur, vɹ·djur, vɹdzh·ɹ), the last having the same sound as *verger*. It is generally mute in: riban*d*, We*d*nesday.

DD. Whenever used = (d), except in compounds.

DG = (dzh) from 14. to 19., before a palatal vowel, as *e*, *i* as: ju*dge*, bri*dg*ing and sometimes this sound is retained, even when an *e* has been orthographically omitted, as ju*dg*ment.

Ð In ags. ð was either (th) or (dh) perhaps used indifferently in the MSS. which we have, p. 515. In some more recent ags. and in 13. ð was used as the only sign for both (th, dh), in others þ was the only sign, After 13. ð seems to have been discontinued, and only þ used in 14. and part of 15. Even in 13. *th* was occasionally used for either ð or þ. Judging by modern Icelandic habits ð was (dh) when medial or final in ags. See also p. 541, n. 2, p. 555, n. 1.

E = ags. (e, ee), and this sound it seems to have retained to the middle of 15. Then some of the words with *e* long had the sound of (ii), but *e* short has remained (e) to 19. The use of long *e* as (ee, ii) fluctuated much during 16. and 17., but in 18. the sound (ii) established itself and has remained. See *ea*, *ee*, In 19. it has a few anomalies, compare: b*e*, cl*e*rk, pr*e*tty, l*e*t, r*e*sin, hid*e*ous, op*e*n = (bii, klaaɹk, priti, let, rɔz·in, hid·jɐs, oop·'n). Final *e* seems to have been pronounced, at least in the Southern parts of England, till the beginning of the 15. with certain exceptions, pp. 318, 364. During 15. most final *e*'s lost their sounds, and in 16. *e* final was considered to indicate that the preceding vowel had its long sound. The final *e* seems to have become silent even in 14. or 13. in the northern parts of the country, p. 410. Usages differ in existing MSS.

EA. In ags. this seems to have been a true diphthong (ea) with the stress generally on the first but occasionally on the second syllable, indicated by (éa, eá), p. 511. Although found in 13. pp. 467, 498, we may consider that with ags, it passed out of use. It is occasionally found in 14. as (ee). It was not till the middle of 16. that it was extensively used to mark those long *e*'s which retained the sound of (ee) in contradistinction to those which had fallen into (ii), the latter being written *ee*. This distinction was however not consistently carried out even at first, some words having the (ii) sound being spelled with *ea*, and all sounds having the (ee) sound not being spelled with *ea*. In 17. still more of the words with *ea* became sounded as (ii) without any change of spelling, and by the middle of 18. the use of *ea* generally as (ii), and rarely as (ee, *ee*) as in: b*ea*r, gr*ea*t, was established and

has remained to 19. Many words in *ea* which had long (ee) in 14. were pronounced with short (e) at an early period, as: h*ea*d, l*ea*d s. In the earlier part of 18. the sound of (ii) was applied to words such as gr*ea*t, br*ea*k, which are now generally pronounced with (*ee*). The 19. varieties are seen in: h*ea*l, gr*ea*t, h*ea*rt, guin*ea*, h*ea*d, r*ea*ct, ar*ea*, =(нiil, gr*ee*t, нaaɹt, g*i*n·*i*, нed, riækt·, eeɹ·ri,ʊ). [In 13. and 14. *ea*=*ae*=*ai*= (ee) in Norman and English, infrà p. 582.—P.]

EAU. This form was not employed in 14., but *ew* was used in place of it; even Levins, 1570, has *bewtye*. In the earlier part of 17. *eau* was (eu), in the later part and since, (iu). As usual, 19. furnishes varieties, as in: B*eau*champ, b*eau*fin, b*eau*ty=(Biitsh·ʊm, b*oo*, b*i*f·*i*n, biu·t*i*). [In 14. *eau* =*eal*, *iau* in Norman of 13.=*eu*, *ew*, =(uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

EE. Invariably represented (ee) in 14. and was generally used in closed syllables. At beginning of 16. it was sometimes (ii) and sometimes (ee). During the latter half of 16. it was fixed as (ii), the (ee) sound being generally written *ea* (which see). So it has remained. In 19. br*ee*ches is (brîtsh·yz).

E'E. A 17. and later contraction for *eve* in *e'er ne'er* and pronounced (ee) up to 19.

E-E. The affixed mute *e* rendered the preceding *e* long, and hence in 16. the sound was generally (ee), but in some cases (ii). The spelling was then discontinued, *ea*, *ee* taking its place, thus Salesbury's *chepe*, *chese* became *cheap*, *cheese*. At the beginning of 18. the sound of (ii) prevailed and has continued; but 19. shews: th*ese*, th*ere*, all*ege*=(dhiiz, dheeɹ, aledzh·).

EG in later ags. and in 12. (ei, ai).

EȜȜ. Orrmin's form for (ei), p. 489.

EH, the exclamation (*ee*, ee).

EI. In 13. seems to have been (ei, ai). In 14. when used, which was rarely, *ey* being the common form, it was (ai) sometimes (aa,i) pp. 264, 476. See the references given under *ai*. In 16. it varied as (ei, ai), and in 17. became (əi) or more usually (eei, ee). During the latter part of 18. it changed to (ii), where it generally remains, with varieties of (əi, ee) as in: conc*ei*t, v*ei*l, forf*ei*t, h*ei*fer, d*ei*pnosophist=(konsiit·, v*ee*l, fɔɹfit, нef·ɹ, dəipnos·ofist). In the words *either*, *neither*, *ei* was generally (ee) in 18.; in 19. usage fluctuates between (ii, əi), some still use (ee), p. 129, n. 1. [Precisely the same as *ai*, *ay*, infrà p. 582.—P.]

EO. In ags. this seems to have been generally (éo) but occasionally (eó). In 13. *eo* interchanged with *e* and the sound was (ee), p. 487. The combination then went out of use, although both *eo* and *oe* are found in 14. in the sense of (ee). In 17. therefore it became (ii) in p*eo*ple, and even in y*eo*man, though this has now (*oo*). As *eo* is rare and has come from many sources it is very variously pronounced in 19., as: p*eo*ple, G*eo*rgies, y*eo*man, gall*eo*n, Th*eo*bald, l*eo*pard, dung*eo*n, Macl*eo*d, f*eo*d, th*eo*logian, th*eo*logy = (pii·p'l, Dzhəɹ·dzhiks, ɹoo·mʊn, gæluun·, Ti·b·ʊld, lep·ɹd, dən·dzhʊn, mækləud·, fiud, thii,oloo·dzhiʊn, thiəl·odzhi). [In 13. and 14. *eo*, *oe*=(ee) generally, but often =(uu) in Norman, and sometimes in English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

EOU, EOW, perhaps (eou) or (éu), p. 498. [In 13. and 14. *eow* in English=(uu), infrá p. 586.—P.]

ER in ags. was probably always (er, eer) or (e.r, ee.r) with a strongly trilled (r). It is still so in Scotland and Ireland. There is no notice of its having varied in sound till 18., when (ɹ) was recognized as a second sound of *r* and then *er* was taken to be (eɹ). In 19. Mr. M. Bell takes it to be (əɹ). I conceive it to be properly ('ɹ), but to be generally ('ɹ), see p. 196. Although there is no notice of this sound in older writers, yet there is reason to believe that something approaching to it was known in 16. and that it was well marked in the latter part of 17. In 17. the practice of reading *er* as *ar* in: cl*er*k, D*er*by, s*er*vant, s*er*vice, H*er*tford, still more or less heard in 19. came into use. Confusions of *er*, *ar*, are common in 13.

EU. The oldest sound of *eu* seems to have been (eu). In 14. it was generally (eu), but in words of French origin (yy), p. 302. The division became confused in 15., and in 16., though both sounds were heard, the line of distinction seems arbitrary, see lists, p. 301. In the course of 17. most *eu* became

(iu) though some remained (eu). In 18. this distinction was swept away and all became and have remained (iu), except after *r* when they are generally (uu) as R*eu*ben, r*ew*, rh*eu*m. In modern French words in *eur* as: amat*eur*, grand*eur*, haut*eur*, usage varies, (iur, eeɪ, uuɪ, 'ɪ) being all heard occasionally, the last being meant for the French (*ər*). [In 13. and 14. *eu*, *ue*, *ew*, *w*, each = (uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

EW was identical with (*eu*), but was more often used, especially in 13., and afterwards became the common final form, see *eu*. Some of the words in *ew* passed into (*oo*, *oou*), at least as early as 17., but *shew*, *sew* are in 19. usually spelled *show*, *sow*, and *chew*, *eschew*, *shrew*, *shrewd* have (iu) or (uu). In *Shrewsbury*, present usage varies between (uu) and (*oo*). *Shrow* was used in Shakspere's time. [See *eu*.—P.]

EWE only occurs in the word (ewe), in 19. (ɟiuu) and (ɟoo), which is found written *awe* in 13, p. 428. In the middle of a word *ewe* occurs as *ew* + *e*, and the *e* may be or may not be silent, as in: s*ewe*d, br*ewe*d, j*ewe*l = (s*oo*d, bruud, dzhiu·el). The word *sewer*, a drain, was (sh*oo*ɪ) in 18., but in the middle of 19. the pronunciation (siuɪ) prevails. *Sewer* a waiter is (siu·'ɪ), one who sews is (s*oo*·'ɪ).

EWW. Orrmin's form of (eu), p. 488.

EY. The same as *ei*, see p. 459, n. 1, and the passages there cited. See also Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning. It was common in 14. as (ai), in 16. as (ei, ai), in 17. as (eei, ee), in 18. and 19. generally (*ee*) sometimes (*ii*), as in k*ey*, th*ey*, turk*ey*, *ey*ing = (kii, dh*ee*, tɪ·ki, əi·iq). [See *ei*.—P.]

EYE seems to occur only in *eye* = (əi), which was (ai*gh*·e, ai*kh*·e, *ii*·e) in 14., (ei, ai) in 16., and generally (əi) in 17. to 19. [In 14. *eye* = (ee·e), in Norman and English, infrà p. 582.—P.]

F. In ags. (f) and between vowels often (v). In 13. to 19. generally (f), in the middle of 17. *of* became (ɔv) but it was not generally recognized till 18. The use of (v) for (f) was common in the dialects of 14., p. 409.

FF. Formerly in MS. of 13. and later *ff* was written for *F*. Throughout, in the middle of a word *ff* was = (f).

G. In ags. (g, gh; *g*, *gh*, ɟh, ɟ). In 13. a distinction was made between *g* ʒ, *g* being pure (*g*, g), and ʒ guttural or palatal. When French words were introduced more freely in 14. *g* became (dzh), and was then (dzh) or perhaps (zh) in French. The sound (zh) is comparatively modern in France, though it was certainly known in 16., p. 207, and it is used in Modern English words taken from the French as: rou*g*ing (ruuzh·iq).

GG. Identical with *g*, but always (g), never (dzh), as in rugged = (rəg·ed).

GH. Even in 13. occasionally used for ʒ when sounded (gh, kh), the sounds (*gh*, ɟ) being occasionally written (yh, y) p. 431. In 14. the sound was (gh, *gh*, kh, *kh*), and after labial vowels (g*w*h, wh). In 16. it was generally called (kh) but said to be lightly pronounced, and some call it (H'), others (wh), and in a few words this (wh) had passed into (f). In other words it gradually became mute, in which case the preceding vowel had generally been previously altered. In 17. *sigh* *drought*, *height*, were sometimes called (səith, drʌʌth, həith, and the town of *Keighley* is (Kiith·li) in 19. An unhistorical *h* has been inserted in: ghost, ghastly, in which *gh* = (g). The (kh) sound is retained in: *lough*, (lɔkh), though it has generally become (k) as (lɔk), and as: shough, hough = (shɔk, hɔk) but sometimes (həf) in groom's language. The change of *gh* into (f) prevailed more extensively in 17. than in 19., and is still heard more in the provinces. Varieties in 19.: Calla*gh*an, hiccou*gh*, Belling*h*am, hou*gh*, *gh*ost, lau*gh*, Kei*gh*ley = (Kæl·ahæn, hik·kəp, Bel·indzhəm, hɔk, goost, laaf), besides being mute. *Augh*, *ough*, must be taken as *au*+*gh*, *ou* + *gh*.

GL. Generally *g*+*l*, but in the Italian word *seraglio*, either (lɟ) or (l) from 17. at least.

GN. Initial, up to 16. (gn), but in 17. and afterwards, the *g* was dropped. Medial, in 14. it seems to have been simple (n), p. 309, and this sound has generally remained to 19., although *gn* is incorrectly considered to lengthen the preceding vowel, merely because an *e* has been omitted, as in: sign, benign, impregn, impugn, in 14. (siin·e, beni*i*·ne, impree·ne, impyy·ne), and hence in 16. (səin, benəin·, impreen·, impyyn·), and in 19. (səin, binəin·, impriin·, im-

piun·). In such combination as: dignity, signify, impregnate, repugnant, it was probably always (gn). Gill, 1621, acknowledges (qn) as (beniq·n), and some MSS. of 15. spell *beningne*. [In 13. and 14. *gn* medial = (n) in Norman and English.—P.]

ȝ ʒ Used extensively in 13. and 14. for the sounds of (gh, *g*h, kh, *k*h, ɜ). The figure of *y* in the sense (ɜ) seems derived from ȝ. The form ʒ being identical with the written form of *z*, then in use, z was also used for ȝ even in print, see *nz*, *z*. After printing came into use ʒ was soon discontinued, and *gh*, *y* became the usual forms. Sometimes confused in writing with *s*, p. 464.

ȝh used for (gh) in Orrmin, p. 488.

H. In ags. initially, before a vowel (H) or (H'). Before *l*, *r*, *n*, *w* it may have been originally (kh), but *hl*, *hr*, *hn*, *hw* seem to have become (lh, rh, nh, wh) in ags. times, p. 512, as they are in Icelandic, p. 544, and in 13. only (lh, wh) remained, which were frequently interchanged with (l, w). (Wh) remains in 19., but is uncertain in the South. In ags, *h* final = (kh, *k*h). In 13. the sound of *h* seems to have been very uncertain, and in 14. it was lost in those words before which a vowel was elided. In 16. it was pronounced or not, differently from the present custom. In 19. it is much more pronounced than formerly, but in the provinces and among the uneducated, it is almost always lost.

I *vowel*, for *i* consonant see *j*. In ags. (i, ii) or (*i*, *ii*). This sound seems to have been prevalent in 14., and the short value (*i*) lasts in 19. During 15. many of the words having long (*ii*) received short (*i*) owing to throwing back the accent, but those long (*ii*) which retained the accent became (ei), and retained that sound in 16., changing to (əi) in 17., where they remain. Only a few modern French words have (ii), as *invalid* (invəliid·) also called (*in*væl·*id*), in another sense.

IA. [In 13. and 14. *ia*, *ya*, (in one syllable) = *ai*, *ay* = (ee) in Norman and English, p. 582.—P.]

IE, medial. Occurs occasionally in 14. as simple (ee). In 16. it was not much used, though it seems then to have been (ii) even in *friend*, and in 17. it was firmly established in a few words, without any historical or etymological reason, as (ii), and has so generally remained. In final syllables it was much used in 14. as (-*ii*·e) and in 16. as representing the 14. final -*ie*, -*e*, and sometimes -*y*. This termination was generally called (-*i*) but sometimes (ei, ai). In 17. it was gradually replaced by *y*. In a few words as *die*, *lie*, etc., it remains with the sound (əi). [In 13. and 14. *ie* (in one syllable) = *ei* = (ee) in Norman and English, infrà p. 582.—P.]

I–E is properly identical with long *i*, which see; but owing to a prejudice against ending words in *v*, and to the necessity of putting an *e* after *g* final to indicate the sound of (dzh), it sometimes represented short *i* (*i*), as in 19. *give*, *live*, *bridge*. In modern words from the French it is (ii), as: antique, oblique, routine, machine, pique.

IEU is a purely French combination, and in 16. interchanged with *eu* being probably pronounced (eu); in 17. it was (iu), and so it has generally remained, thus *lieu* is (liu) or (luu), but l*ieu*tenant is usually called (leften·ɜnt, or (luuten·ɜnt), and Beaul*ieu* is (Biu·lɪ). [*Ieu*, *iew* in English, hypothetically = *eue*, *ewe* Norman of 13., would, if found = (uu), infrà p. 586.—P.]

IEW. In the word *view* written both *vewe* and *view* in 16., it is a final form of *ieu*. [See *ieu*.—P.]

IO. [In 13 and 14. *io* (in one syllable) = *oi* = (uu) generally, in Norman and English, infrà p. 587.—P.]

IR not before a vowel, was probably not distinctly separated from *er* even in 14. as we have both *first* and *ferst*. In 16. and later it seems to have been the same as *er*, and in 19. it is either ('ɹ) or ('ɹ), as in: s*ir*, d*ir*t, f*ir*.

IU. [In 13. *iu* (in one syllable) = *iw* = (uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586. On p. 506, n. 2, for (riú·le) read (ruu·le).—P.]

J or *i* consonant of the 16. and 17. centuries in which the distinction *i*, *j* was not observed in writing. In 14. introduced for French words, and with the French sound (dzh) which it retains, though in France *j* has become (zh). In the Hebrew hallelujah it was and is read (ɜ), but not so in other Hebrew words. (Maaɜtsh·bæqks) for

Marjoribanks, is an obviously recent corruption.

K from its earliest introduction in the latest ags. to the present day has retained the same sound (k), with perhaps occasional unacknowledged palatisation into (*k*).

KK, often used in 14. where *ck* was afterwards employed, as (k) after a preceding short accented vowel in a closed syllable.

KN *initial*, in 14. to 16. and perhaps for some time in 17. was = (kn), but in 18. and 19. the (k) was dropped. It is, however, still pronounced in Lowland Scotch. In 17. Cooper considered *kn* = (nh), p. 544, n. 2.

L from ags. to 19. = (l). The 19. colonel = (kɪ·nʊl) is remarkable. L is occasionally not pronounced, but in disappearing leaves an effect on the preceding vowel as in: *talk*, *half*, *alms*, now (tʌʌk, hʌaf, aamz), where *l* seems to have been lost generally in 16. See *al*.

LD. The *l* was omitted in 17. in *could*, *would*, *should*, having been erroneously introduced into the first, though heard in 16. In Gui*ld*ford, the *d* is usually silent.

LE final, after a consonant, from 16. to 19. = ('l), as: fiddle, beadle = (fid·'l, bii·d'l).

LF. In *alf*, the *l* was omitted in 16. and *a* became (au), which was (ʌʌ) in 17. and has in 19. returned to (aa). See *al*.

LH. Occasionally used in 13., probably for (lh), a remnant of ags. *hl*, see *h*, but as it interchanges with *l*, this pronunciation is doubtful.

LL. Much used as a final, and after a short accented vowel in a closed syllable, as (l). In compounds sometimes *l* + *l*, as in *soulless*. In Welsh words initially, the Englishman says (l) in *Ll*oyd (Loid), Welsh (lhhuid), but in *Ll*ango*ll*en he generally uses (thl) as (Thlæn·gɔth·len), Welsh (Lhhan·golhh·en).

LM, *alm* final, omitted the *l* in 16. changing (a) into (au) which became (ʌʌ) in 17. and in 19. has become (aa) with its variants, as in *balm*, see *al*.

LN final presenting some difficulty in speech, one or the other letter was often dropped: *l* was omitted in *Lincoln*, and probably in *Colne* in 17., *n* was omitted in *kiln* in 17., changes which remain.

LZ. Old form of lʒ = (lɪ). Da*l*ziel in Scotland (Di·ʊl) in England (Dæl·zel). See p. 310, note 1.

M, from ags. to 19. = (m). In 16. probably, and later, when following any consonant but *l*, *r*, *m* was ('m) as in *chasm* = (kæz·'m) although the ('m) was not allowed to constitute a syllable in verse. Some in 19 call *-lm*, *-rm* (-l'm, -r'm) and this was recognized by Bullokar in 16.

MB final, probably omitted *b* in 16. and certainly in 17. to 19. as *limb*.

MM medial only, after an accented short vowel = (m), from 14. at least.

MN final = (m) probably always in *column*; and initial = (n) probably always in *mnemonics*.

MP. *Omp*, which was a French combination, now called (oʌ), was in accented syllables in 14. = (uun), in 16. (oun) and 17. 19. = (əun) as in *Compter*; unaccented it was (kon) as Comptroller. In 19. Campbell is often (kæm·el). Otherwise (mp) is fully sounded as: camp, limp, thump.

N. From ags. to 19. = (n). Probably before *f* it fell into m, as in *Banff*. See also *nc*, *nk*, *ng*.

NC. Chiefly in compounds as *in-come*, or in the termination -nce, and then = (nk, ns); but some in 19. and probably early, changed *n* into (q) before *c* = (k).

ND. Generally (nd), but the *d* is sometimes mute, as in *riband*, ha*nd*kerchief, and in the latter case the *n* becomes (q) notwithstanding the composite nature of the word = (hæq·kertsher) in 17. and (hæq·kɪtshif) in 19.

NG. The difficulty of pronouncing pure (n) before the gutturals (g, k), caused *n* in such cases to pass into (q) in the earliest times. It is difficult to determine before 19. whether *ng* was simply (q), or (qg) when final or medial. In 16. and later the 19. customs obtained, namely *ng* is (q) when final, and preserves that sound generally when the word is lengthened by inflection, and in a few cases *ng* = (qg). Thus: I lo*ng*, thou lo*ng*est, lo*ng*er *s.* a lo*ng* way, have all (q), but lo*ng*er *a.*, lo*ng*est *a.*, stro*ng*er, stro*ng*est have (qg), Compare li*ng*er, fi*ng*er, si*ng*er. When *ng* occurs before *th*, it is usually called (qk) as *length*, *strength* (leqkth,

streqkth) or (qqh), but many persons say (lenth, strenth) which Walker notices as an Irishism. In French words *ng* = (ndzh) from 16., some in 19. say (nzh) but it is against analogy, as ch*ange*, s*inge*, (tsh*een*zh, s*in*zh) for (tsh*ee*ndzh, s*in*dzh). Though ch*ang*ing is used, s*ing*eing is employed to keep the word distinct from s*ing*ing. *Ng* initial = (q), is only found in foreign words.

NH. A Portuguese combination for (nj), used in 19. in ipecacua*nh*a as (n).

NK. In one syllable = (qk), or as some believe (qhk) from ags. to present day, see *ng*.

NN. After short accented vowels = (n) from ags.

NZ. In a few names, the old form of Saxon *nȝ*, with the sound (q) as M*enz*ies = (Míq·iz), or with the sound (nɹ) as in D*enz*il = (Den·ɹil), see *lz*, and p. 310, note 1.

O. From ags. to 16. apparently (o, oo), but during 15. many long *o* fell into (uu) and for some the orthography was changed in 16. to *oo*, while for others the *o* was retained, as in *do*, *who*, *move* (duu, whuu, muuv), and in 17. *go* was occasionally pronounced (guu). The short *o* also frequently represented (*u*) both in 14. and 16. In 17. the long sound of *o* in those words in which it had not fallen into (uu) became (*oo*) and the short either generally (ʌ, ɔ) or even (ə) in case of those words where *o* was (u) in 16. In 19. the long sound is (*oo*) or as some pronounce (*oo*u) and even (*o*u), while the short sound is (ɔ). Before r = (ɹ), the long sound remains (oo), as *ore* = (ooɹ) although some say (*ooɹ*, *oo*'ɹ) and even (*oo*·,'ɹ) dissyllabically, the same as *ower*. The short *o* before r = (ɹ) is supposed to remain (ɔ), as fork (fɔɹk), but it frequently becomes (ʌʌ) and the (ɹ) is then often dropped, so that *Lord laud* theoretically (lɔɹd, lʌʌd) are confused as (lʌʌd). See pp. 196, 245. In comic verse *or*, *aw*, are allowed to rhyme as in Hood's Epicurean Reminiscences of a Sentimentalist.

We went to——, it certainly was the sea-side,
For the next, the most blessed of *morns*,
I remember how fondly I gazed at my bride,
Sitting down to a plateful of *prawns*.
O never may mem'ry lose sight of that year,
But still hallow the time as it *ought*,
That season the "grass" was remarkably dear,
And the peas at a guinea a *quart*.
—*Comic Annual*, 1831, p. 171.

See the remarks under (ɹ), infrà § 2. The properly short *o* is in 19. sometimes prolonged before *s*, *f* as *cross off* = (krɔs ɔf, krɔɔs ɔɔf) or (kroos oof), and occasionally quite (krʌʌs ʌʌf). Possibly in 17., wh*o*le, st*o*ne were (hol, ston) as these pronunciations exist in America, which is tinged with 17., and are still heard occasionally here, being common in Norfolk; from (ston) apparently, or else from (stʌn), comes the familiar (stən) as a weight. The 19. varieties: are g*o*, d*o*, w*o*men, bett*o*r, *o*n, s*o*n, w*o*man, compter, ch*o*ir, reas*o*n = (goo, duu, wim·en, bet·ɹ, ən, sən, wum·ʌn, kəun·tɹ, kwəiɹ, riiz·n).

OA. This is found in 13. when it seems to have been (*aa*) or (*aa*h), or simply (aa), pp. 467, 498, 506. It was hardly used afterwards, till in the latter part of 16., when it was introduced as a new sign for (oo), the form (*oo*) being appropriated to (uu). In 17. the sound changed to (*oo*) at which it has remained, with a tendency in 19. towards (*oo*u, *o*u). In the three words: br*oa*d, abr*oa*d, gr*oa*t, it was = (ʌʌ) in 17., and still so remains, though gr*oa*t is often called (grɔt), and in *groats*, a farinaceous food for children, it is (grits). It was occasionally *o*+*a* as in *oa*sis, c*oa*rt, c*oa*gulate. [Infrà p. 586.—P.]

Œ. Used in 19. in some Latin words as fœtus, fœtid = (fii·təs, fet·id).

OE was uncertainly used as a final in 16., with the sounds of (oo) generally, and (uu) occasionally, Levins 1570 has: doe, foe, roe, toe, sloe, goe, forgoe, moe, hoe, loe (our lo!) with (oo), and: shooe, fordoe, vndoe (but doo), with (uu), but considers these and: blo, twoo, no, so, tho, to, vnto, as words "in *o* desinentia." In 17. *oe* was generally (*oo*), but was (uu) in *shoe*. In 19. we find d*oe*, sh*oe*, fell*oe*, d*oe*s = (d*oo*, shuu, fel·*i*, dəz), and *oe* = *o*+*e* in: c*oe*val, p*oe*t (k*o*,ii·vul, p*oo*·et). [See *oe*, p. 586.—P.]

O-E. From 16., marks *o* long, but in some words, when *v* is the interposed consonant, as: m*o*ve, pr*o*ve, the *o* was sounded (uu) from 16. to 19.; l*o*ve,

formerly (luuv), passing through (luv), became ləv). In a few words as: hove, rove (*oo*) remains. Otherwise the sound was that of the long *o* of the time. The anomaly *one* (wən) is recent; the time of its introduction is unknown, but it was not before 18. Jones 1701 gives (wæn, wæns, wænst) as curiosities, but does not name (wən); Buchanan 1766 has (wæn, wæns) also, as the correct sounds, but Franklin, 1768, has (wən, wəns). The Scotch (ɟin, ɟən) for *ane*, seem to have been introduced about the same time. The old sounds were, English (oon), Scotch (aan). The 19. varieties are: h*o*rs*e*, c*o*v*e*, m*o*v*e*, Toll*e*mache, f*o*rehead, l*o*v*e*, Bolingbrok*e*, *o*ne = (HƆrs, koov, muuv, Tæl·mæsh, fɔr·ed, lɔv, Bul·iqbruk, wən).

OEU. A French combination, naturalized as (uu) in man*oeu*vre, in 19? [A combination not known in France until 15., represented in 13. and 14. by *ue*, *eu*, *eo*, *oe* = (uu).—P.]

OH has perhaps always represented the exclamation (*oo*), although the exclamation was not always represented by it.

OI is not found often enough in 13. to determine its sound, it was apparently (ui) in 14. in French words, but occasionally (ué ?), and sometimes (oi ?); in 16. (uui, ui) and also (oi), in 17. the (ui) class became (əi) and this remains as an unrecognized vulgarism in b*oi*l, p*oi*nt, etc.; in other words it was (AI) or (əi) or (oi), and occasionally (*oi*) is heard, often (AAI). Dialectically *oi* was occasionally pronounced (*ii*, *ee*) in 14., p. 450, note 2. The 19. varieties are: cham*oi*s, conn*oi*sseur, av*oi*rdupoise = (shæm·*i*, shæm·wA, kɔnesII·, æviIdiupoiz·). Ch*oi*r was also writen *quire* in 17., and since then pronounced (kwəir), but *chorister* was (k*woi*r·ister). Mem*oi*r is called (mem·wɔI) in imitation of the French. And sometimes *oi* = *o*+*i*. [In 13. and 14. *oi*, *oy* = *io* = (uu) generally, in Norman and English, but very often also = (ee), infrà p. 587.—P.]

OL, OLL. In 16. the *l* being sounded strongly as ('l) or (l*w*) developed a (u), so that *ol* became (ooul) in r*o*ll, t*o*ll, etc., p. 193. In 17. this remained or became (*o*ul), and as such passed to Ireland. Even in 18., (*o*ul) as well as (*oo*ul) was heard. In 19. (*oo*ul) is considered inelegant, but is common, and (*o*ul) unbearable, and (*oo*l) is the only recognized sound.

OO. In 13. and 14. = (oo), rare in 13., frequent in 14. During 15. this sound split into (oo) and (uu) and in the latter part of 16., *oo* was appropriated to (uu), where it has since remained, with a few exceptions. In some words the (uu) became (u) and some of these naturally fell into (ə) in 17., as: fl*oo*d, bl*oo*d; others, however, resisted this tendency, but became (*u*) as: g*oo*d, w*oo*d, st*oo*d. These changes remain in 19. Before *k* it is the custom in Scotland to use (u) and in the North of England to preserve (uu), as: book (buk, buuk), while in the South the sound is fully (*u*) as (b*u*k). In some words *oo* = *o*+*o*, as z*oo*logy, z*oo*phyte, Lao*coo*n = (zoɔl·odzhi, zoo·ofəit, Leok·oon).

OR. There is no reason to suppose that this was different from (oor, or) in accented syllables; finals were generally written *our* up to 17. and even later, some still remaining, originally to indicate the sound (uur, ur) p. 304. In 17. these final unaccented *or*, *our* became (ər) or probably (əI, I), and are (I) in 19. In accented syllables, in 17. it was sometimes (*oo*r) and sometimes (Ar) or (AAr), (f*oo*rm) a bench, (fAArm) a shape, and this distinction remained through 18. It has nearly disappeared in 19. The present theoretical sound of *or* not followed by a vowel is (ɔI), which passes into (AAI) and (AA) simply, see the citation in *o*, p. 575. Before a vowel *or* = (ɔr).

OU was introduced at the close of 13. and beginning of 14. for (uu) and so remained to 16., being occasionally used for (u), and occasionally for (oou), which was generally written *ow*. Some writers pronounced it (uu) till past the middle of 16., but about that time the general pronunciation had become (ou), some words only remaining (uu) or (u). Most of the latter became (ə) in 17., but some (uu, u) remain to 19. The ags. words in *aw*, *ow*, which came to be written *ou*, *ow*, were till 17. called (oou). In 17., (*oo*) without an aftersound of (u), was and still is the recognized pronunciation, but as the aftersound exists still as (*oo*|u, *oo*'*w*), it probably existed in 17., and its repudiation by orthoepists then arose very possibly from the same cause that it still arises,

namely, the tendency to give this after-sound (ˌu) even in words where there is no historical authority for its use, see *ow*. Before *gh* the sound was apparently (ou) or (oou) in 14. In 17. this changed to (AA), *gh* being dropped, and has so remained. The 19. varieties are: *ou*ght, s*ou*l, s*ou*p, h*ou*gh, d*ou*ble, w*ou*ld, n*ou*n = (AAt, s*oo*l, suup, HɔK, dəb·'l, w*u*d, nəun), and it is sometimes *o*+*u*. [In 13. and 14. *ou* = (uu) in Norman and English.—P.]

OUGH, properly = *ou* + *gh*, and its noted varieties arise from the combination of the varieties of these two symbols, which they do not exhaust. In 19. they are: th*ough*, t*ough*, hicc*ough*, pl*ough*, thr*ough*, l*ough*, h*ough*, *ough*t = (dh*oo*, təf, HIK·kəp, pləu, thruu, lɔkh, HɔK, AAt). These are only eight; as there are at least seven varieties of *ou* and of *gh*, *ough* might have had 49 sounds. It is not the combination of the most varied pronunciation, as is generally supposed, for simple *o* has at least 10, and *eo* 11 uses, see *o*, *eo*.

OW in 14. was generally used for (oou), but sometimes was written for *ou* and pronounced (uu, u). In 16. those words which had (oou) retained the sound. In 17. they changed (oou) into (*oo*) which remains. There is a strong tendency to say (*oo*u) in 19., and as this tendency is as strong for *no* as for *know*, orthoepists disapprove of it in both cases, p. 234. Those words in which *ow* was called (uu) in 14., were pronounced with (ou) in 16., and (əu) in 17., which remains as *how*, *now*. The 19 varieties are: kn*ow*, C*ow*per, kn*ow*ledge, bell*ow*s, n*ow* = (n*oo*, Kuu·pɹ, nɔl·*y*dzh, bel·əs, nəu). *Cowper* is sometimes called (Kəup·ɹ). [In 13. and 14. *ow* generally = (uu) in Norman and English, and sometimes (oou) in English.—P.]

OY can only be regarded as another form of *oi* from 14. to 19. It is now generally final. [In 13. and 14 *oy* = (uu) generally, but often = (ee) in Norman and English, infrà p. 587.—P.]

P. From ags. to 19. = (p). In cu*p*board it is in 19. assimilated to the following *b*, or rather lost = (kəb·ɹd).

PH was introduced at the earliest periods for Greek *φ*, and probably always = (f). In ne*ph*ew the *ph* was a mistake, and it is called (nev·iu) in 19. In Cla*ph*am, etc., *ph* = *p*+*h* and the *h* is dropped (Klæp·ʊm). See *phth*.

PHTH, properly *ph*+*th*, is only used in Greek combinations. From the difficulty of saying (fth), the following changes arise: *phth*isis, *phth*isical, apo*phth*egm, di*phth*ong = (təi·s*i*s, t*iz*·*i*kʊl, æp·*o*them, d*i*p·thɔq). The last at any rate was in use in 17. We find even in ags. (pth, kth) used for *φθ*, *χθ* in transliterating Greek, p. 523. Some say (dif·thɔq) in 19.

PN initial loses *p*, as in *pn*eumatics = (niumæt·*i*ks).

PP after short accented vowels = (p).

PPH after short accented vowels = (f).

QU from 14. to 19. had the sound (k*w*) or (kw). In a few words from the French it is (k). These were formerly spelled without *qu*, compare 14. licour, 19. liquor = (likuur·, l*i*k·ɹ).

QUH. An old Scotch orthography, probably representing (k*w*h), the Scotch substitute for English (wh).

R. From ags. to 19. before a vowel = (r), and perhaps once (.r). In Scotland always (r) or (.r) wherever occurring. There is no mention of any such sound as (ɹ, ɹ) till 19., but there is reason to think (ɹ) may have existed in 16. and still more that it existed in 17. For its use in 19. see table on p. 197. There are many varieties of defective utterance. The Northumberland burr is (*r*) or (grh) and sometimes (gh, g) simply, the French r grasseyé ou provençal is (*r*), and the Dutch *g ch* have often the same sound, thus *schip* = (s*r*ep).

RE final, seems to have been occasionally (er) in 14., but when the *e* was inflectional (re) remained. In 16. and later it was always (er, ur) or (ɹ) in French words.

RH initial in Greek words and in Rhine, Rhone = (r).

RR Generally after a short vowe = (r), and possibly always so before 17· In 19. it is generally (r) after a short vowel, except there is acknowledged inflection, and then it is (ɹr), but after a long vowel it is always (ɹr). Thus: ma*rr*y, me*rr*y, spi*r*it, ho*rr*id, hu*rr*y = (mær·*i*, mer·*i*, spi*r*it, HɔR·*i*d, HəR·*i*). But occu*r*, occu*rr*ence, occu*rr*ing, infe*rr*ing = (ɔkɹ·, ɔkər·ʊns, ɔkɹ·r*i*q, *i*nfɹ·, *i*nfɹ·r*i*q). After a long vowel *rr* is seldom written, the single *r* being then pronounced as (ɹr), compare: ea*rr*ing, hea*r*ing = (iiɹ·r*i*q, Hiiɹ·r*i*q). But we have: ta*r*, ta*rr*y = covered with tar,

star, *starry* = full of stars, = (taaɪ, taaɪ·rɪ staaɪ, staaɪ·rɪ), and in Ireland *arr* always = (aaɪr) or (æər) as in b*arr*el in England (bær·el), in Ireland (baaɪ·rel) or (bææ·rel), which seems to imply a similar English pronunciation in 17.

RRH, in words from the Greek only, in 19. used precisely as *r*, *rr*, as in *catarrh*, dia*rrh*œa = (kʊtaaɪ·, dəiʊrii·ʊ).

S. One sense of this letter from ags. to 19. has always been (s). Whether in ags. it was ever (z) is difficult to determine. Judging from the Icelandic, as the representative of medieval languages, *s* was always intentionally (s) in ags; but the sound of (z) was occasionally generated. Rapp takes it to have been always (sj). This is not necessary. There is no (z) in Spanish, nor in the Dyak languages, and probably many others. In 14. there seems no doubt that *s* was occasionally (z). There are some traces of its being changed into (sh) by a following palatal vowel at the end of 16. and beginning of 17. (p. 215), and later on in 17. Miège, a Frenchman, notes: sure, leisure, usual, as being (shyyr, lee·zhər, yyzh·yæl). See *sci-*, *si*. These sounds remain. In 19. we have: *s*ee, a*s*, *s*ugar, le*i*sure = (sii, æz, shug·ɪ, lezh·ɪ). In some MS. of 13., *st* is used for ȝt = (*k*ht), probably a mistake arising from the confusion of ȝ, ȝ, *z*, see p. 464. [In 13. and 14. *s* = (s) in Norman and English.—P.]

SC. The initial *sc* before palatals was (s) in 16., and probably always. *S*ceptic was often spelled *skeptic*. In 19. we have: vis*c*ount, *sc*ene, dis*c*ern, *sc*eptic = (vəi·kount, siin, dizɪn·, skep·tɪk).

SCH, in Greek words, seems to have been considered as *sk* (sk). The words: *sch*ism, *sch*edule, have always presented difficulties. They are now generally (*siz*·'m, shed·iul). In 13. and 14., and even later, *sch* was used for the modern *sh*, which see. In 13. it is sometimes *shc*. The celebrated German name of *Rothschild*, properly (Root·shild) = *red-shield*, is generally mispronounced in English as (rɔths·tshəild), quasi *Wroth's child!* where the familiar word *child* has evidently misled the reader to separate the combination *sch*.

SCI-. Treated as *si-* = (*si*) till 17., and then often (sh), as in 19., con*sc*ious = (kon·shʊs).

SH. Orrmin uses this compendious form of *sch*, but it did not come into general use till end of 15., or beginning of 16. It represented the effect of palatizing (sk), and hence converting it into (sh). The sound (sh) has remained. *Sh* is occasionally *s* + *h*, and the *h* is occasionally dropped, as 19., compare mis*h*ap, dis*h*onest, dis*h*onour, Mas*h*am = (mishæp·, dison·est, dizon·ɪ, Mæs·ʊm); but many persons ignore the composition, and call: Hors*h*am, Windles*h*am (Hɔɪsh·ʊm, Win·d'lshʊm). The pronunciation (thresh·hoold) for thres*h*old, ags. þresc-wald, Chaucer threisshfold, 3482, Promptorium threschwolde, is a modern etymological error for (thresh·*oo*ld).

SI-. Treated as (*si*) till 17, and then often (sh), and sometimes (zh), as 19., man*si*on, deci*si*on = (mæn·shʊn, disizh·ʊn). After a short accented vowel it is more usually (zh), and (sh) is then kept rather for *ci-*, or *ssi*.

SS was occasionally used for (sh) in 13. and 14. (pp. 409, 448).

SSI-. See *si*.

T from ags. to 19. = (t); but see *ti-*.

TCH intended as double *ch*, and used after a short accented vowel; the spelling is modern, the 14. form is *cch*. In both cases the sound was probably (tsh) simply.

TH, even in ags. used as a transliteration of *θ*, p. 523, and sometimes used for þ, ð, in 13., having both the sounds (th, dh), which were probably distinguished as at present in 16., with some doubtful cases, as wi*th* (wi*th*, wi*d*h). Sometimes = *t* + *h*, sometimes *t* + *th*, or *th* + *h*, being obviously contractions. In a few words *th* = (t, d) in 16. In 19. we find: *th*yme, bur*th*en (generally written bur*d*en), *th*igh, *th*y, po*th*ouse, eigh*th*, Sou*th*ampton = (təim, bɪd·n, thəi, dhəi, pɔt·hʊus, *e*etth, Səuthhæm·tʊn). In Havelock *th* is found for ȝt, as *knith*, but the sound is unknown; it may have even been really (th), compare *sigh*, *Keighley*, under *Gh*, or else simply (t), p. 477.

TI. In the termination *-tion*, probably (*si*) from 14. to 17., and then generally (sh), following *si-*, *ci-*, *sci-*. It may, however, have been exceptionally (sh) even at the beginning of 17.

TTH, the Greek *τθ*, probably always (th) in Ma*tth*ew.

þ ags. (th) or (dh). It is impossible to distinguish between þ ð in ags. and Early English. In 13. and 14. used for both (th, dh). In ags. it is safest

to use (th) initial, and (dh) medial and final, p. 515 and p. 541, n. 2.

U vowel, for *u* consonant, see *v*. In ags. (uu, u). In 13. the long *u* was (uu), but may have been occasionally pronounced (yy) likewise, while short *u*, though generally (u), was occasionally either (y), or (i, e). This usage of short *u* is too general to be considered as dialectic. In 14. long *u* was always (yy), the (uu) sound being represented by *ou*, *ow*, which see. Short *u* was more uniformly (u), though this sound was occasionally written *ou*, as the use of short *u* for (i, e) had not died out. In 19. this use of short *u* is only retained in: b*u*rial, b*u*ry; b*u*sy, b*u*siness. In 16. long *u* was (yy), and short *u* (u) almost uniformly. In the beginning of 17., and perhaps earlier (p. 227, n. 1), long *u* was called (yy) by some, and (iu) by others, the latter sound prevailed, and has remained to 19., except after *r*, as in tr*u*th, r*u*le, and after an *s* palatalized into (sh, zh), as: *s*ure, lei*s*ure, when it becomes (uu), or is lost in 19. as: (truuth, ruul, shuuɪ, lezh·ɪ). There is, however, great diversity of practice, and an (i) is more or less distinctly introduced before the (u), as (iú, íu), or fused with it in (yy, uu). Again, in the middle of 17. short *u* became generally (ə), which was a new sound in our language, not mentioned by any writer before Wallis, 1653, and the extent to which it was used is very undefined; but it prevailed generally, and only a few (u) remain in 19. which are now properly (*u*), as: p*u*t, f*u*ll = (p*u*t, f*u*l). This uncertainty is well illustrated by the dialects of the peak of Derbyshire, chap. XI., § 4. In 16. short *u* was occasionally called (*i*), but this was reckoned an affected pronunciation. The use of *u* for *w* in pers*u*ade, etc., is modern, imitated from its use in *qu*. In 16. or 17. arose the practice of using *gu* to represent a hard *g* (g) before an *e*, as in *gu*ess, a French practice, borrowed also from *qu*; and to this, and the wish to indicate a long vowel by final *e*, must be attributed *plague*, *vague*, *fatigue*, *rogue*, etc. With usual inconsistency a long vowel is not always indicated by a final *-gue*, as *epilogue*, *synagogue*, or *tongue*. These spellings are not found before 16., and they greatly vary in 16. [In 13. and 14. *u* accented and long = (uu) in Norman and English; *u* unaccented and short = (u, e, i), and *u* with the secondary accent = (ə, e, i), infrà p. 583.—P.]

UE used in later spelling as a final *u*, owing to a rule made by no one knows whom, no one knows why, and no one knows when, that no English word can end in *u*. [In 13. and 14. *ue* = *eu* = *w* = (uu) in Norman and English, p. 586.—P.]

U—E from 16. indicated long *u*, and was so pronounced, see *u*.

UI. This is not properly an English form, but it is found rarely in 14. in place of *oi*, with, probably, the sound (ui). In some words it may have been (yy), as in them it often interchanges with simple *u*, p. 135 and 170. See also p. 424, note 3. Sometimes it replaced *i*, see p. 452, note, col. 2, l. 8. To this custom is perhaps due its present existence in b*ui*ld, which Gill 1621 calls (byyld, bəild, biild, bild), and which is spelled *beeld*, *bild* in Promptorium. After *g* the *u* was only the French method of hardening *g* to (g) and the combination *gui* must be considered as *g* hard + *i*, as: guilt, guide, guile. In more recent 17. French words, *ui* was treated as long *u*, and this treatment remains with the sound (uu) after *r* as usual, and sometimes after *s*, as s*ui*t, 17. (suut), 18. (shuut), 19. (siut). Occasionally *ui* = *w* + *i*, or = *u* + *i*. Hence we get the 19. varieties: mosq*ui*to, fr*ui*t, b*ui*ld, g*ui*ding, s*ui*t, lang*ui*d, q*ui*rk, fr*ui*tion, ang*ui*sh = (moskii·to, fruut, bild, gaid·iq, siut, læq·gwid, kwerk, fruish·un, ee·giu, ish.) It is continually used in Scotch for (yy) or (ə) as: *puir*, *guid*. [In 13. and 14. *ui* = *uy* = *iu* = (uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

UO. [In 13. and 14. *uo* = *ou* = (uu), when *u* is not a consonant, in Norman and English.—P.]

UOY is confined to the word buoy, called by Hart 1569, (buee) = (bwee), in 17. (boi), frequently (bwoi) and by sailors (buui) in 19.

UR, from the time that *u* short represented (ə), *ur* = (ər, əɪ, 'r, ɪ), see p. 200, *er* and *r*.

UW, an unusual and hence doubtful combination, probably (yy). [In 13. and 14. *uw* = (uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

UY, a modern spelling, found in: b*uy*, plag*uy* = (bai, plee·gi). The sound of buy, spelled: bye, beye, 14. was (bii·e, bai·e), p. 285. [In 13. and 14.

uy = *ui* = *iu* = (uu) in Norman and English, infra, p. 586.—P.]

V consonant, for *v* vowel see *u*. This seems to have been invariably (v).

W vowel, is only used as part of a diphthong, see *aw*, *ew*, *ow*. Several writers, however, consider *w* to be always a vowel. In 13. occasionally used as long *u* = (uu), especially where (uu) dialectically replaces (wuu, wu); in 14. occasionally used as *ou* also = (uu); probably double *v* was dialectically used as the simple *v* vowel, that is *u*, with its local sound (uu) or (yy). [In 13. and 14. *w* = *ew* = *u* = (uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586. —P.]

W consonant, corresponds to ags. *p*, which was (w) p. 513. This sound has remain to 19.; and is often considered to be a vowel, but it is not so, compare *w*oo, *w*ood, *w*oman = (wuu, wud, wum·ɐn), in which those who consider *w* as a vowel have to write (uu, ud, um·ɐn), as is and probably was frequently said in various parts. Mute in 19. in: gun*w*ale, boats*w*ain, ans*w*er, Chis*w*ick, s*w*ord, t*w*o, t*w*opence; the last word was (tɔp·ins) in 17. In ags. p. 514, and down to 16. at least *wr*-initial was probably a labial *r* or (r*w*) as *write*, (ureit) in Hart, (wrəit) in Gill, but simple (rəit) in 19. Ags. *wl*-, p. 514, was probably a labial *l* or (l*w*), which changed to (l) or (fl), compare ags. wlænco, Scotch wlonk, modern flunkey; Is l*u*kewarm a transposition of ags. *w*læc? Orrmin has *wlite*.

WH, in ags. hw, was perhaps very early = (k*w*h), but is not likely to have been (khw). In Scotland it is assumed as (k*w*h,) see *quh*. Probably in later ags. times it was (wh) and it has since so remained, though there was a tendency even in 13. to call it (w) when initial, and that tendency is strong in the South in 19. In 16. *who* was called (whuu), which in 17. had become (ʜuu) where it remains, (wh*oo*, whuu) being heard from elderly provincials. The final *wh* in 14. formed the transition from (k*w*h) to (f), and in Aberdeen (f*a*t) is still said for (k*w*hat) *quhat*, *what*, the same transformation occurring initially.

WL. See *w*.

WR. See *w*.

X was in early writings used for Greek χ in Χριστός, whence the contractions Xp' = Χρ. Xmas, etc., for Christ, Christmas, etc.; and was then = (k). Its general early use was for Latin *x*, and it seems to have been always (ks) and never (gz). In 19. it is sometimes (gz), and being treated as *k*+*s*, or *g*+*z*, the latter letter may be palatalized to *sh*, *zh*. In French words it follows the French pronunciation (s, z), and as an initial in Greek words as pronounced in English it was (s) in 17. and is (z) in 19., as Xantippe, Xenophon, Xerxes, now = (Zæntip·i, Zen·ɐfɐn, Zerk·ziiz). Hence the 19. varieties: e*x*cept, bea*ux*, ve*x*, a*x*iom, e*x*ample = (eksept·, b*oo*z, vęks, ak·shiɐm, egzaam·p'l). [In 13. and 14. *x* = (s) in Norman, and often perhaps in English.—P.].

Y vowel, was in earlier ags. (y, yy), but in later ags. times it was confused with (i, ii). In 13. to 16. it was used indiscriminately with *i*, as of precisely the same meaning. In 17. and subsequently the use of *y* was more limited to the end of words, where it arose from the termination -iʒ, the *y* being in 14. the substitute for ʒ, in this sense, and the *i* omitted. Throughout, the Latin practice of transliterating Greek υ by *y* was followed. The pronunciation of *y* vowel was the same as *i* vowel throughout, see *i*. In 19. compare marr*y*, m*y*rrh, fl*y*ing = (mær·*i*, mɹ, fləi·iq.)

Y consonant. This was a substitute for ags. ʒ, and its use probably arose from the sound of ʒ as (ɹ). It has been used for (ɹ) from 14. at least. It was also used in contractions for þ, as y^e y^t = þe þæt.

YA. [In 13. and 14. *ya* (in one syllable) = *ay* = *ai* = (ee), in English and Norman, infrà p. 582.—P.]

YE. [In 13. and 14. *ye* (in one syllable) = *ey* in medial, and sometimes probably in final syllables = (ee), in Norman and English, infrà p. 582.—P.]

YH. This is found in 13. in place of ʒ when it had the sound of (ɹ), p. 431.

Z is not an ags. letter. In 14. it was freely used for (ʒ) even in plurals, see *Alliterative Poems*, edited by R. Morris, and also for ʒ, and had therefore both sounds. The use of *z* for ʒ remained into Roman type, see ʒ and *s*. In 16. its use was confined to (*z*), and it was abandoned in plurals. In 19 it is palatalized and a few Italian *z*'s are found, hence: me*zz*otint, *z*eal, a*z*ure = (met·sotint, *z*iil, *ee*·zhɹ). [In 13. and 14. *z*, *zs* = (s), in Nor. and Eng., and sometimes perhaps (ts) in Norman.—P.]

Having learned that Mr. Payne in the course of his Norman investigations (suprà p. 438, n. 1) had arrived at several results which were inconsistent with the preceding investigations, I requested him to give me that brief statement of his opinions which has been added in brackets to several of the above articles, and also to furnish an abstract of the grounds on which he relied. This he has been so kind as to do, and it seemed to me so important that the reader should be in possession of his arguments, that I have here appended them *in extenso*. In his Memoir, above referred to, the several points here shortly touched upon will be fully illustrated by citations and references. It would be impossible fully and satisfactorily to criticise his investigations without studying those additions. At present I can only add brief notes, pointing out the radical difference between our views, which, as respects *ay*, *ey* and long *u*, will be further illustrated at the beginning of Chap. VII. § 1, and state my opinion that, as far as English is concerned, sufficient weight has not been given by Mr. Payne to the dialectic peculiarities of the scribes of MSS. Thus it appears to me that the Alliterative Poems in the West Midland dialect of the XIV th century, afford no proper evidence for Chaucer's pronunciation in the South, and the late XV th century MSS. of Alisaunder used by Weber (suprà p. 451, note, col. 2) is no authority at all for the pronunciation of the XIII th century to which the original poem belonged. The assumption that so many forms were used to express the same sound, so that the vowels (uu, ee) must on this theory have been predominant in the English and Norman of the XIII th and XIV th centuries, seems also incompatible with the known tendency of all illiterate speech to diversity of pronunciation. Thus *stone* was ags. (st*aa*n), and is in ordinary Scotch (st*ee*n), but in Aberdeen (stiin), in Cumberland and Westmoreland is dubiously (stjaan, stii·aan, stii·ʊn), in the XVI TH century probably (stoon) as it now is frequently in the provinces, in the XVII th century and still theoretically (st*oo*n), but probably often in XVII th century, as it still is in Norfolk and the United States (st*o*n), whence the common form (stən) for the weight, and perhaps the most usual emphatic southern pronunciation is (st*oo*un). Such diversities in olden times must have produced diversities of spelling. See also suprà p. 473, note, col. 2, for (*ee*, əi). I take this opportunity of pointing out the necessary deficiencies of my own investigations upon English pronunciation during the XIII th century, which ought to have been based upon an extensive examination of existent English dialects, and a thorough comparison of the various MSS. of the same works written by scribes in different parts of the country, as checked by the knowledge thus gained of their local peculiarities. Had I waited until this was possible my book would probably never have been written, and the circumstances under which this part of it was unavoidably composed did not even leave time to undertake so thorough an examination as I could have wished of all existing documents and sources of information. The reader is therefore requested to consider Chap. V. rather as the commencement than

the completion of a research, which the labours of such competent investigators as Mr. Murray for the Scotch dialects, Mr. Sweet for the Northern languages, and Mr. Payne for the Norman element, will contribute to advance, but which may require many years of patient study both of existent and extinct dialectic usages, not only in England, but low Germany and Normandy, to bring to a thoroughly satisfactory conclusion.

The remainder of the text of this § is written by Mr. Payne; the footnotes are by myself, but have been signed for greater distinctness.

BRIEF ABSTRACT OF SOME OF MR. PAYNE'S RESEARCHES ON THE VALUE OF THE LETTERS IN NORMAN AND ENGLISH, DURING THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

AE, EA, AI, IA (IN ONE SYLLABLE), EI, IE (IN ONE SYLLABLE), WITH THE VARIANTS AY, YA, EY, YE = (ee).

Assuming the Norman long or tonic *e* to have been = (ee), and finding it in Norman poems of 13. frequently rhyming with *ei*, *ai*, as: feel conseil, defens mains, estre maistre, nestre maistre, fere plaire, retraire manere, brait set, plein foren, reis Engles, reis pes = *paix*, consail vessel, reis lees = *lois*, jammes curteis, feiz turnez *past participle*, refait Dé, etc., etc., and finding also: faire fere, maistre mestre, aveir aver, conrai conrei conre, trait treit tret, etc., etc., continually interchangeable with each other, we can scarcely help concluding that Norman *ai*, *ei* = (ee).[1] We infer then that *pais* of the Saxon Chronicle and Layamon, *pays* of Robert of Gloucester, *payse* of Dan Michel, were (pees), and this inference is confirmed by finding the *ai*, *ay*, translated into *e*, *ee* in *pes* of Owl and Nightingale, *pees* of Piers Plowman and Chaucer,[2] whether these be considered as literal adaptations of the Norman form (see above), or phonetic representations of the English *ai*. On the one hypothesis the Norman *ai* seems to be established as (ee), and the Norman *faile*, *fai*, *crei*, which are found rhyming respectively with English *taile*, *dai*, *awey*, must have been (feel·e, fee, cree); and if so it is difficult to see how the English words could have been other than (teel·e, dee, *a*wee·).[3] On the other hypothesis *ee* represents, at the will of the writer, English *ai*, and, therefore, the Norman and English phonetic systems being by hypothesis the same,[4] English *ay*, *ey*, would, correspondingly, represent Norman *e*, *ee*. And this we find to have been the case. The Norman word *jornee* or *jurnee*, became in Genesis and Exodus *iurne*, which in the Alliterative Poems is *journay*,[5] and in Mandevile *journei*,[6] probably pronounced (dzhʊrnee·). The English *ay* is here obviously employed to represent the Norman *ee*. The word *contrey* in Alisaunder,[7] *contraye* in Dan Michel,[8] similarly represents Norman *cuntre* or *contree*, and in regard to both words it is difficult to see how the fact that the English *ay*, *ey* = (ee), could have been more clearly expressed.[9] The *ay*, *ey*, being no part of the Norman word, would appear to have been chosen as suitable phonetic equivalents to the Norman *ee*. These words *contrey*, *contray*, *jornay*, rhyme in their turn with Norman *fey*, *fay*, and thus shew that the Norman *ai*, *ei*, were also = (ee). The general argument is con-

[1] See cause for doubting the generality of this conclusion, suprà pp. 454-459.—A.J.E.

[2] This point is considered in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning.—A.J.E.

[3] For evidence that *day*, *way* were not so pronounced, see the table p. 489.—A.J.E.

[4] This is also Rapp's hypothesis, but to me the origin and progress of the orthography appears to have been entirely different. Suprà p. 425, and infrà p. 588, n. 4.—A.J.E.

[5] West Midland, and hence of no authority here. See suprà p. 451, n. c. 1.—A.J.E.

[6] There is no contemporary MS. authority for Mandevile.—A.J.E.

[7] A discredited MS. for this purpose, suprà p. 451, note, col. 2.—A.J.E.

[8] Dan Michel's use of *ay* is considered in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning. There is no reason to suppose that such an independent orthographer was guilty of such a solecism as to use *ay* and *e* indifferently.—A.J.E.

[9] There is a great accumulation of evidence on the other side, already given in this work.—A.J.E.

firmed by the rhymes: maide misrede, maide grede, in Owl and Nightingale, and: maide muchelhede in Floris and Blancheflur (E.E.T.S. ed. p. 52),[1] which form a parallel to: retraire fere, maistre nestre, etc. in Norman. We conclude then that *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, whether Norman or English was in 13. and 14. = (ee).[2] This sound may have persisted generally, therefore, to 15. also, but in 16. Mr. Ellis's authorities and arguments (suprà pp. 118–124) seem to prove that it was for the most part superseded by (ai), though the old pronunciation was probably still extensively used.[3] But the sound (ee) had other graphic representations. On the hypothesis, which there seems much reason for adopting, that both in Norman and Early English the transposition of the vowels of the digraph, made no difference in the sound, *ae*, *ea*, *ai*, *ia* (in one syllable), *ei*, *ie* (in one syllable), with their variants *ay*, *ya*, etc. would all = (ee). There is, however, no adequate space here to illustrate this position.

AU = (au) AND (áaə) OR (aaʊ).

As *au* in Latin was most probably pronounced (au), there seems every reason to believe that the initial and medial *au* was the same in Norman. This is confirmed by a remark of Beza's (suprà p. 143, note), who especially distinguishes the Norman pronunciation of *au* from the ordinary French, telling us that in Normandy in 16., *autant* was pronounced nearly—perinde pene acsi scriptum esset — *a-o-tant*.[4] This pronunciation is also, I believe, still heard in some parts of Normandy. The old spellings *Awwstin* for Austin (suprà p. 489) *fawte* faute, *maugre* maugre, *hawte* haute, *hawnteyne*, corruption of *haultain* ?, *pawtenere* pautoniere, etc. seem to confirm this notion. In the case, however, of the termination—*-aunce*, found not earlier than 14., and then taking the place of a previous *-ance*, there is much reason to doubt whether the rule applies.[5] The *u* is evidently not organic. It seems to be merely intended to lengthen out the sound of the *a*, and thus emphasise more strongly the accented syllable. It is most unlikely that a sound which had been established for ages as (aa), should suddenly change to one so different as (au).[6] This view is confirmed by the fact that in Anglo-Norman texts—it is found in no other—*ance* very frequently rhymes with *aunce*. The same remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to such words as *graunt* granter, *haunt* hanter, *commaund* commander, etc., which were most probably pronounced (graaənt, haaənt, komaaənd·),[7] if indeed the *u* was really sounded at all.

U LONG, TONIC = (uu). U SHORT, ATONIC = (ʊ, ə, e, i).

If the medieval Latin long *u* was (uu), which is generally acknowledged,[8] it is difficult to see how the Norman long *u*, which often rhymed with it, as: là sus equinoctius, juggium conjugium, etc., could have been anything else. If, however, it is objected that these Latin terminations are not long,

[1] These are considered in Chap. VII, § 1, near the beginning.—A.J.E.

[2] The evidence here, necessarily imperfectly, adduced, does not incline me to change the opinions heretofore expressed, of which corroboration is afforded by an examination of the usages in seven MSS. of Chaucer's Prologue and Knightes Tale, in Chap. VII. § 1. See also p. 459, n. 1.—A.J.E.

[3] This hypothesis seems to me inconsistent with the general custom of the change of pronunciation. The change of (ai) into (ee) is common, p. 238, and could not but have proceeded with different velocities in different countries and parts of the same country.—A.J.E.

[4] Beza, as quoted by Diez, also says p. 41, "majores nostri—sic efferebant ut *a* et *i*, raptim tamen et uno vocis tractu prolatam, quomodo efferimus interjectionem incitantis *hai*, *hai*, non dissyllabam, ut in participio *haï* (exosus), sed ut monosyllabam, sicut Picardi interiores hodie quoque hanc vocem *aimer* pronuntiant." The histories of *ay*, *aw* are parallel.—A.J.E.

[5] See the quotations from Palsgrave and Salesbury, suprà pp. 143 and 190, for the reality of (au).—A.J.E.

[6] There is no change of the vowel, merely the insertion of a new vowel, which did not produce a labialisation of the first element for more than 200 years.—A.J.E.

[7] This almost agrees with Bullokar's views.—A.J.E.

[8] It is no more likely that different countries should have pronounced the Latin *u* alike in the middle ages, than at present. The French may then, as now, have called it (yy), suprà p. 246, l. 27. It was (yy) in England in 16. See infrà p. 586, n. 5, for remarks on the provincial character of the *Alliterative Poems* and *Sir Gawayne*.—A.J.E.

the answer is, that they are long as being under the accent, so that *-us*, *-um*, would be (-uus, -uum).[1] Applying this test to English we should treat the *us* in English *thus* (C. T. v. 13384) and the *-us* in *ignotius*, which rhymes with it, as both long, and = (uus). If then the Norman *u* was = (uu), as most of the authorities allow, though some of them speak of exceptions which they do not cite,[2] *adventure*, quoted on p. 298, would have been (adventuur·e) and *lure*, with which it rhymes, (luur·e), and *nature* (natuur·e). (See *nature* written *natwre* in *Alliterative Poems*, p. 59, and *salue* rhyming to *remwe* in *Sir Gawayne*, p. 47). There appears indeed no proof whatever that the French (yy) was known in 13. and 14., but there are many proofs that *u* was consistently (uu).[3] But as it is generally allowed that the English or Anglosaxon long *u* of those times, with which the Norman is continually found rhyming, was (uu), proofs are scarcely necessary.[4] The greater difficulty lies in proving that the short *u*, or unaccented *u*, was not (u, *u*), but a different sound, approaching, if not identical with the obscure sound heard in the atonic *a* in *a mán*, *e* in *the mán*, *o* in *to-dáy*, and represented generally in palaeotype by (ʊ) or (ə, e, *e*, *i*). It is highly probable that this sound scarcely, if at all, differed from the atonic *e* of the French *le* in *le livre*, and that, in time, it generated the proper French *eu*. The development of this doctrine is essentially connected with a true conception of French, or, as far as we are concerned, the Norman system of accentuation. The Norman dialect, —and the remark applies equally to the actual Norman patois,—seems to have been characterised by an extremely strong and emphatic delivery of the accented syllable. The general principle of the accentuation consisted in singling out for the tonic accent the syllable which was accented in the Latin original, so that, for instance, Norman *raisun* from *ratiōn-em* was accented *raisún*, *honor* or *honur* from *honór-em honúr*, etc., with a very forcible impact of the voice upon the last syllable.[5] The effect of this predominant influence of the accented syllable would necessarily be, the transformation of the atonic syllables.[6] We see evidence of this result in the not unfrequent appearance of *henór*, *enór*, and *annór* in the place of *honór honúr*. An instance, however, perhaps bearing more directly on our present purpose, is afforded by the derivatives of the old French or Norman *coer* or *cuer* (cœur). There is little doubt that this was originally pronounced (kuur).[7] When, however, by the addition of *-age*, there resulted *coráge*, *curáge*, and *couráge*, all 13. forms, both the quantity and quality of the original (uu) was affected, and almost of necessity the atonic *cor*, *cur*, *cour*, would become (kʊr), and the entire word (kʊraadzh·ʊ). In the process of development *coráge* next receives the syllable *-os* or *-us*, and becomes *coragós*, *coragús curagós*, or *curagús*, all of which are admissible Norman forms. The lately long vowel *a* is now changed both in quantity and quality, and has become (e, i, ə) or (ə, ʊ), it is not easy to say which, and the result may be probably considered as (kəreguus·).[8] Similarly it might be shewn that *curt* cour = (kuurt), becomes

[1] That the accent lengthens the vowel on which it falls, is a phonetic theory which has been long since abandoned. See suprà p. 556, n. 1.—A.J.E.

[2] But see suprà p. 424, and especially the latter part of note 3.—A.J.E.

[3] That English *u* in 14. was (uu) and not (yy) seems inconsistent with the double orthography *u*, *ou*. See suprà pp. 298, 303, and infrà Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning. See also p. 583. n. 8.—A.J.E.

[4] It seems to result from my investigations in Chap. V. that *u* ceased to represent (uu) in English during the period 1280 to 1310, when *ou* was gradually introduced as the representative of that sound. See especially p. 471, n. 2.—I don't know to what other writers Mr. Payne alludes.—A.J.E.

[5] Direct proof would be necessary to establish this remarkable difference between the old Norman system of accentuation, and that evidently adopted by Chaucer, which agrees with classical French, suprà p. 331. A.J.E.

[6] Admitting that this obscuration of unaccented vowels often occurs, and has been especially active in many languages, I must deny it to be a necessity of pronunciation, any more than the prolongation of a vowel by the accent, witness the clear unaccented but extremely short *a*, and the decidedly short but accented *o* in the Italian *amō* (amo·). See infrà p. 585, n. 4.—A.J.E.

[7] Not having sufficiently studied Norman orthography and pronunciation I am unable to speak on this point.—A.J.E.

[8] It seems to me extremely doubtful that such a sound as (ə) was known to the Normans, when regard is had to its very late introduction into England, suprà p. 172.

curtéis (kʉrtees·), and this again *curteisie* (kərtesii·ʉ), or perhaps, at least occasionally, (kərtesee·).[1] The last word became, as is well known, in English *curtesie*, *cortaysie*, *courtaysie*, all of them, by the above theory, being pronounced (kərtesii·ʉ) or (kʉrtesee·ʉ), or very nearly, *accentu mutato*, as the modern *cóurtesy*, that is (kər·tesi).[2] The spelling could not on this theory have affected the pronunciation,[3] which was determined by the power of the tonic accent obscuring and transforming the independent value of the atonic syllables. It may further be observed, that the *u* in the former *cur*, being so close to the predominant accent, became positively eclipsed by it, and would therefore be exceedingly short and obscure, as (ʉ) in English, while the *u* in the second *cur*, receiving a secondary accent, would probably have a clear and definite sound, equal to (kər). It is this sound which the English derivatives would receive when no longer under the influence of the Norman accentuation, but subjected to the entirely different system of the English. Hence the Norman: jurnée, trublér, colúr, cumfórt, suveráin, dozáine, covért, custúme, doblér, curtíne, hurtér, cumpainée, turnoiément, sujurnér, sucúr, etc., when they became respectively: jóurney, tróuble, cólour, cómfort, sóvereign, dózen, cóvert, cûstom, dóuble, cúrtain, hurt, cómpany, tóurnament, sójourn, súccour, etc. would naturally be pronounced very nearly as they now are, or very recently were.[4] In the present sound then of these words, we see the Norman influence still persisting.[5] Exceptions may no doubt be taken to this general assertion, but the main principle can hardly be affected by them. It may be further remarked, that the continual interchange in early English, of *u*, *e*, *i*, in such instances as: werk wirk, chirche cherche churche, kirtel kertel kurtle, erth urthe, sunne sinne, sturn stern, cherl churl. segge sigge sugge = *say*, in *báthud*, etc., compared with *báthed*, etc., in *tellus* for *telles*, *lédus* and *lédys* for *lédes*, and in such plurals as *femdlus*, *sýdus*, *cóupus*, (see *Anturs of Arther passim*,) tends to shew that the short *u* had the same sound both in Norman and English.[6] It is impossible to conceive that the unaccented *us*, which merely stands in these instances for *-es*, was pronounced (us). It must have had the same obscure sound as the *u* in *curteis*. When, however, this obscure unemphatic sound is required to take the accent, then it assumes the clear utterance of the *u* in *curtesie*. Hence the *u* in *churche*, *urthe*, *sunne*, *sugge*, was not unfrequently found interchanging with *e* and *i* short. The sound then of short *u* seems, in words of more than one syllable, to depend on the principal accent, and when atonic to be (ə), and this was also the sound in monosyllables naturally short, as *church*, *churl*, etc. The merits of the general theory, which I have here attempted to expound, can, however, hardly be fairly judged of by this brief and imperfect representation of it.

I do not feel satisfied that the above account of the successive formations of *cœur*, *courage*, *courageux*, is historically correct. —A.J.E.

[1] If this termination were ever (-ee), it was only through the West Midland confusion of *i*, *e*, and rejection of final *e*, certainly not from reading *ie* as *ei*, and calling that (ee). It was dialectic, not literary.—A.J.E.

[2] The absolute ignorance of the sound (ə) shown by all the authorities of 16., makes me inclined to reject at once the hypothesis that *courtesy* could have been called (kər·tesi) in 14. With regard to the second syllable of the word, more is said in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning.—A.J.E.

[3] Although after the invention of printing, spelling may have affected pronunciation, in 12. 13. and 14. we have no reason to assume anything but the converse, namely, that pronunciation affected spelling.—A.J.E.

[4] But they were not so pronounced in 16., as we know by direct evidence, and they are not now so pronounced by the illiterate in our provinces. It was only the other day that I heard a porter at Clapham Junction shouting out many times in succession (Klap·am Dzhʉq·shʉn). with pure (ʉ) and not (ə), and without any obscuration of the unaccented vowels.—A.J.E.

[5] The history of the introduction of (ə) being now on record, and the battle between (ə, ʉ) being still undecided, I do not see how this conclusion can be admitted. —A.J.E.

[6] See suprà p. 299, and 300, n. 2, also p. 425, p. 507 and numerous instances in Chap. V. § 1, No. 3. But there seems no reason for supposing this *u* to have been anything but (y, e, i).—A.J.E.

OE, EO (IN ONE SYLLABLE), OI, IO (IN ONE SYLLABLE), UE, EU, UI, IU (IN ONE SYLLABLE), AND THE VARIANTS EOU, EOW, EOUW, EW, IEU, IW, IEW, W, UW, EACH = (uu).

The illustrations and arguments by which the above proposition is supported, are given at some length in my paper. A brief summary, which understates the proof, is all that can be given here. Assuming that Norman long or tonic *u* = (uu), it was ascertained [1] that Norman *ui*, and inferred [2] that the inverted *iu*, had the same sound as *u* alone, that is, that *nuit* = (nuut), fruit = (fruut),[3] *riule* = (ruul·e). These conclusions depend on the light shed by Norman and English on each other.[4] Thus in English texts *frute* rhymes with *dedute*, i.e. Norman *deduit*, and again *frut* with *dedwt*, whence *ui* = *u* = *w* = (uu). Again Norman *suir*, *siur* to follow, becomes *siw* in Layamon, *suwe* in Ancren Riwle, *swe* in the Alliterative Poems, and *sewe* in Chaucer, shewing *ew*, *ui*, *iu*, *iw*, *uw* = (uu), and therefore *sewe* of Chaucer = (suu·e).[5] The argument thus gained, applied to *triw-e* (Robert of Gloucester), *trewe* (Chaucer), *truwe* (Occleve), and *treue* (Audley), gives theoretic (truu·e), which is shewn to be correct by *trwe* in Alliterative Poems, p. 27, where *due* also rhymes with it, supported by Promptorium Parvulorum *trwe*.[6] Thus, in addition to the digraph above given, *ue* and *eu* also appear to = (uu). If then the ags. *treowe*, which appears as *treowe* and *treouwe* in Layamon's earliest text, and as *trewe* in the later, had a sound different from *trewe*, *triwe*, or *trwe*, it could only have been for a short time, and it may probably be assumed to have been the same.[7] The supposition, then, that *ew* had one sound in words of Norman origin, and another in those of native growth (p. 302) is unnecessary, and indeed inconsistent with the fact that, though it may be true that Chaucer does not rhyme together words in *ew* of different origin, other writers do. As a case in point we find in Alliterative Poems, p. 13, *trwe* English, *blwe* probably Norman, *grewe* preterit. *remwe* Norman, and again *knewe* English, (which is also found written *knwe*) *swe* Norman *due* Norman, *hwe* English, *untrwe* English and *remwe* Norman, all rhyming together.[8] We note also in this text Chaucer's *newe* always spelled *nw* or *nwe*. We should, therefore, perhaps read such rhymes as those found in Lyrical Poetry, p. 37, viz: reowe, newe, heowe, kneowe; as (ruu·e, nuu·e, HUU·e, knuu·e). Many confirmatory instances might be cited from various texts, but the above may suffice to shew the great probability that Norman and English *ue eu*, *ui iu*, *eou*, etc. were in 13. and 14. = (uu), and hence that the modern pronunciations of: rue, true, sue, suit, rule, pursuit, bruit, fruit, and the vulgar sound of: nuisance (nuu), duty (duu), new (nuu), beautiful (buu), are but echoes of that of 13. and 14.[9]

[1] The proof must be sought in the paper referred to, and having not seen it, I can only express my own doubts of its correctness founded upon my own small amount of observation, see p. 458.—A.J.E

[2] Apparently from the theory that an inversion of the order of the letters in a digraph does not affect its value, which is to me extremely doubtful.—A.J.E.

[3] In *nuit*, *fruit*, the *i*, still pronounced, is as much a representative of the lost guttural, as the *y* in *day*, *may*.—A.J.E.

[4] Which I doubt.—A.J.E.

[5] An examination of the age and locality of MSS. is necessary before judging of the value of their orthography in determining sounds. The Alliterative Poems, Sir Gawayne, and Anturs of Arther are West Midland, in which part of the country a very peculiar pronunciation still prevails, so different from the South Eastern, that the ancient orthography of that district requires especial study. It is very probable that (uu) was unknown in those districts as a sound of *u*, *w*, but that it was always replaced by (yy, y) or some cognate sound. On Layamon see p. 496, and on the Ancren Riwle, see p. 506. The orthography of these works offers so many points of difficulty that it cannot be safely appealed to for any proofs. The whole of our Western provincial pronunciation has first to be studied.—A.J.E.

[6] In the last note it was conjectured that the *w* of the Alliterative Poems may have been (yy). As regards the Promptorium the author only knew the East Anglian pronunciation (suprà p. 23, note 2), and to this day the East Anglians use (yy) for (uu). The above inference is therefore in the highest degree hazardous.—A.J.E.

[7] On *treowe* see p. 498, l. 14. No Anglesaxon scholar would be likely to admit *eo* to have had the same value as *u*. See p. 511.—A.J.E.

[8] Probably all these rhymed as (yy), as they still would in Devonshire. See suprà n. 5.—A.J.E.

[9] This conclusion is directly opposed to all I have been able to learn on the subject. —A.J.E.

OI, IO (IN ONE SYLLABLE), OE, EO = (uu) OR (ee).

It is remarkable that two sounds so remotely allied as (uu) and (ee) should frequently, both in Norman and English, be used one for the other. Nothing, however, is more probable than that *oi* in early French generally, must have represented the sound (uu). Nothing at the same time is clearer than that in the Norman texts the *oi* of Central France is very generally to be read (ee). Thus the forms *moi*, *toi*, etc., which in proper Norman would be *mei*, *lei*, etc., are by no means excluded from Norman texts, but are constantly found rhyming with the Norman *ei* or *ee*. Thus *tei* rhymes with *moi*, *moi* with *foi*, *voir* with *veer*, *roi* with *lei*, etc., and are therefore to be pronounced (mee, veer, lee), etc. The concurrence, however, of such forms as: *genoil* genou, *genoul*, *genue*; *acoiller*, *acuiller*, where *ui* = (uu); *agoille*, *aguille*; *angoisse*, *anguisse*, *angusse*; *noit*, *nuit*; *poi*, *pou* peu; *fusoyn* (rhyming with *corbiloun* in De Biblesworth, Wright p. 158), seems to shew that *oi*, *ui* = (uu). This conjecture may be further confirmed by assuming *oi* = *oe*, and observing that *oile* oil of 12. becomes *oele* and *uille* in 13., and *huile* in 15., while *buef*, *boef* are *bouf* = (buuf) in De Biblesworth. This word he rhymes with *ouf* œuf, of which the variants were *oef*, *uef*. Again *boe*, *moe*, *roe* of 13., become later *boue*, *moue*, *roue*. But *eo* also = (uu), as is seen in the numerous words of the form *empereor*, etc., which became *emperour*, etc. The most difficult case is that of *io* = *oi* = (uu). It is proved, however, by the formation of such words as *mansion*, which became by the loss of the *n* and fusion of *io* into *u*, *maisun*. *Raisun* may be explained in the same way, as may also *maçun* mason, from low Latin *macio*. The word in its Normanised form *machun* occurs in Layamon, and is erroneously translated *machine* by Sir F. Madden. These views respecting Norman *oi io*, *oe eo* = (uu), are singularly confirmed by English examples of adopted Norman words. Mr. Ellis's inferences (p. 269) I should generally endorse, except that, as before stated, I should pronounce *boiste*, for which *buiste* is also found (buust·e) not (buist·e), and perhaps *Loi*, *coy*, and *boy* (Luu, kuu, buu). *Merour* mirror of Chaucer, is directly taken from Norman *mireor*. It occurs as *myroure* in Political Songs, Wright, p. 213. Norman *poeste* also appears constantly in English as *pouste*. The case of *io* = (uu) is not considered by Mr. Ellis. It is, however, rendered more than probable by our word *warrior* written *werroure* by Capgrave, and referable to Norman *guerreur*, which by analogy = *guerrour*. Analysing the *ou* = (uu) into *oi* = *io*, we obtain the modern English *warrior*. Similarly we may trace *carrion* to Norman *caroine*. So the word *riot*, conjecturally referred by the editor of Ancren Riwle to *route*, may be really a variant of that word. It must be remembered, however, that the English *riot* came directly from Norman *riote*, and the variation, if variation it be, must have belonged to the original source. Diez, Ménage, Scheler and Burguy virtually give up the etymology altogether. It is only probable then, but not proved, that Norman *caroine* and English *carrion*, might have been (karuune), and that *riot* might have been sometimes (ruut). The subject requires further investigation.[1] The fluctuations of Norman orthography suggested the enquiry that has been sketched, but the results lead us on still further, and render it probable that *eo*, *oe*, etc., when found in pure English words, had also the sound (uu). *Heo* she, therefore, with the variants *hu* and *hue*, was probably (нuu), as it still is in Lancashire. *Heore* their, too, and *huere*, interpret each other, and so do, *duere* and *deor*, *beoth* and *bueth*, *beon* and *buen*, *preost* and *pruest*, *glew* and *gleo*. We infer, then, that in Layamon's *beorn* warrior, *cheose*, *leode*, *leof*, *leose* the *eo* = (uu). The subsequent forms *burn* (Piers Plowman), *choose*, *luve*, *loose*, etc., and the contemporary form *lued* for *leod*, (Pol. Songs, p. 155), render this hypothesis very strong, while such forms as *goed* good, compared with *goud* (Layamon,)

[1] In this further investigation respect would have to be paid to the principle of palatalization produced by an inserted *i*, familiar to those who have studied phonetic laws, and well illustrated by Prof. Haldeman, in his article on Glottosis *Analytic Orthography*, pp. 67-71. So far as I can understand them, I entirely dissent from the views expressed in the text.—A.J.E.

toen town, *proeve* Norman *preove* English, *doel* and *deol* sorrow, shew that *oe* as well as *eo* = (uu). The great difficulty in assigning the phonetic values of *oi*, *eo*, *oe* arises from the undoubted fact that they were represented both by (uu) and by (ee).[1] Thus we find that nearly all the Norman and English words cited above appear to have both sounds. Thus *heo* appears as *he*, *heore huere* as *here*, *deor duere* as *dere*, *beoth bueth* as *beth*, *beon buen* as *ben*, *preost pruest* as *prest*, *cheose* as *chese*, *leose* as *lese*, etc.,[2] also *proeve preove* as *preve*,[3] *caroine* as *careyne carayne*, *puple*, *pueple*, *people* as *peple*, etc. This divarication in the case of Norman words, was more apparent than real, since the usual Norman sound of *oi* was (ee). Yet the numerous examples of *oi* also = (uu), as for instance in the normal termination of the third person singular of the imperfect tense of the first conjugation, which was *-out* = (uut), while in the other conjugations it was *-eit* = (-eet), render the determination of the law of divergence very difficult. This law, however, must apparently have equally dictated the interchange of the sounds as well in English as in Norman, and this fact is only one proof more of the remarkable correspondence (in spite of all orthographic variations) between the phonetic systems of the two languages, and illustrates the general position that the Norman and English pronunciations respectively help to determine each other.[4]

§ 2. *The Expression of the Sounds.*

The list in the last section suggests its counterpart, how have the sounds of the English language been expressed by letters at different times? Up till the invention of printing at least, the object of writers seems to have been to represent their pronunciation, and the possibility of using the same symbols with altered values does not appear to have occurred to them, although each sound was not uniformly represented by the same sign, and some signs had more than one value.[5] It is also not at all improbable that very provincial writers may have been accustomed to attach values to the letters corresponding to their local pronunciations, and have then used them consistently according to their lights. From these causes arose the occasional picturesqueness of scribal orthography, which was unchecked by any acknowledged

[1] My own indicated explanation of the phenomena to which Mr. Payne refers are to be found on p. 269, and 131, note, col. 1, p. 138, note col. 1. The question seems to be one affecting the treatment of Latin *e*, *o*, in the Romance languages.—A.J.E.

[2] These anomalies, occurring in MSS. not expressly named, seem readily explicable by the known interchanges of *eo*, *e*, p. 488, and of *u*, *e*, suprà p. 585, n. 6.—A.J.E.

[3] *Oe*, *eo* are so rare in Chaucer, see p. 262, l. 33, that I have not been able to judge of their origin or intentional use as distinct from (ee). But we must not forget the two modern forms *reprove*, *reprieve*.—A.J.E.

[4] The Norman was an old Norse phonetic system modifying the langue d'oil, so that the latter had the main share in the result. The English was a pure Anglosaxon system, slightly modified by an old Norse element. There seems to be no connection between the two systems of sound. The orthographies were both derived from the Latin, but the Norman spelling came direct from Roman sources, and the Anglosaxon was only a priestly transcription of the pre-existent runic. The whole application of the orthographies was therefore diverse. The Norman accidentally came into collision with the English, but the developments seem to have proceeded independently, and the share of Norman in 13. English was scarcely more than that of English in 13. Norman. Ultimately the whole character of our language, both in idiom and sound, became English, and Norman words were ruthlessly anglicised. Hence, I am not inclined to admit Mr. Payne's conclusion.—A.J.E.

[5] See the table on p. 407, where in col. 2, "(ou) *o oo oa*" is a misprint for "(oo) *o oo oa*."

authority. At the present day we have nothing to guide us but the usage of printing offices, on which (and not on the manuscripts of authors) our orthographical laws and the pages of our dictionaries are founded. The most ingeniously contradictory reasons are given for preferring one spelling to another. Sometimes a man with a name, as Johnson in England and Webster in America, proclaims his own views and is considerably followed, but Johnson's favourite *-ick* as in *musick* has disappeared, and no Englishman likes to see the American orthography.[1] During the last fifty years a habit of eye has been generated, and spelling has been dissociated in our minds from the expression of sound. But even in the XV th century this was not the case in England, although the disappearance of final *e* from pronunciation introduced more and more confusion as the century advanced, and the original value of the *e* was less understood. When printing commenced, there was a necessity for printers to introduce some degree of uniformity, and, as I have had personal experience of the difficulties thus created,[2] I can well understand the slowness with which even tolerable uniformity was attained. It took fully two, if not three, centuries to reach the present system. During this time several experiments were made, among which I do not reckon schemes for an entire renovation of our orthography, as proposed by Smith, Hart, Bullokar, Gill, and Butler, in the first century and a half after Caxton set up his press. The last great change was made in the XVI th century, when the orthographies *ee ea*, *oo oa*, were settled (pp. 77, 96), how, and by whom, I have not yet discovered. The introduction of *ie*, in place of *ee*, was not of the same nature, and did not take root till the XVII th century (p. 104). In the course of that century many little changes were tried, but the gradual loss of the feeling for the meaning of *ea*, and its perversion in the early part of the XVIII th century (p. 88), undid most of the good effected in the XVI th century. No

[1] Since the publication of the Dictionary of the French Academy, it has become the sole rule in France, or rather each of its six editions of 1694, 1718, 1740, 1762, 1795, 1835, has become the rule till certain points were reconsidered and changed in subsequent editions. "Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie est donc la seule loi," says the most competent authority in France, M. Ambroise Firmin Didot, in his extremely interesting Observations sur l'Orthographe ou Ortografie française, suivies d'une histoire de la réforme orthographique depuis le XVe siècle jusqu' à nos jours, 2nd ed. Paris, 1868, 8vo. pp. 485.

[2] In 1848–9 I conducted a phonetic printing office with a view of trying the experiment of a phonetic orthography, and I had to drill compositors of all kinds of pronunciation to a uniform system of spelling, in order that all my books, and all parts of my books, should be consistent.

great change was effected by Johnson over Dyche and Buchanan, but he became a name, and a refuge for the printer's reader. We have not yet settled how to write between two and three thousand of the words in our language,[1] although it must be confessed that we do not find

[1] *E. Jones*, The common sense of English Orthography, a guide to the Spelling of doubtful and difficult words, for the use of printers, authors, examiners, teachers, and students generally, 1867. It may be observed that he puts *printers* first. He lays down as "the principles of English orthography," first, "the law of abbreviation or contraction," illustrated by *music*, *blest*, *things*, *inferior*, *baking*, *entrance*, *wilful*, *fetter*, for *musick*, *blessed*, *thynges*, *inferiour*, *bakeing*, *enterance* (?), *willfull*, *feetter* (?), second "preference for, or aversion to, certain letters illustrated by the disuse of *y* in middle, and use of it at the end of words." The statement that "the desire to produce an agreeable succession of sounds, or euphony, is also an important principle in the spelling of words," is unintelligible in an orthography which does not regulate the sound. He classifies the doubtful words thus: 1. honor, honour (30 words); 2. movable, moveable (Johnson inconsistent); 3. civilise, civilize; 4. traveler, traveling, traveled, traveller, travelling, travelled; 5. enrol, enroll; 6. pressed, dressed, prest, drest; 7. mediæval, medieval; 8. monies, moneys; 9. hinderance, hindrance; 10. alcali, alkali; 11. Frederic, Frederick; 12. connection, connexion; a license, to license, advice, advise; 14. centre, center; 15. bark, barque; 16. tong in XVI th century, tongue; 17. controul, control. And he then proceeds to give rules for spelling in these doubtful cases. His arguments do not merely affect the words he cites, but large numbers of others which he does not presume to alter, because they are not considered doubtful. This is the most recent attempt at giving "principles" to regulate our orthography. The reader will find a *Report* on this work by Mr. Russell Martineau, in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1867, Part II., pp. 315-325. M. Didot, in the work cited on p. 589, n. 2, in anticipation of a revision of French orthography in a contemplated new edition of the dictionary of the Academy, says: "L'usage si fréquent que j'ai dû faire, et que j'ai vu faire sous mes yeux, dans ma longue carrière typographique, du Dictionnaire de l' Académie, m'a permis d' apprécier quels sont les points qui peuvent offrir le plus de difficultés. J'ai cru de mon devoir de les signaler. L'Académie rendrait donc un grand service, aussi bien au publie lettré qu' à la multitude et aux étrangers, en continuant en 1868 l'œuvre si hardiment commencée par elle en 1740, et qu'elle a poursuivie en 1762 et en 1835. Il suffirait, d'apres le même système et dans les proportions que l'Académie jugera convenables: 1° De régulariser l'orthographe étymologique de la lettre χ, *ch*; et de substituer aux θ, *th*, et φ, *ph*, nos lettres françaises dans les mots les plus usuels; d'ôter l' *h* à quelques mots où il est resté pour figurer l'esprit rude (ʽ); 2° De supprimer, conformément à ses précédents, quelques lettres doubles qui ne se prononcent pas; 3° De simplifier l'orthographe des noms composés, en les réunissant le plus possible en un seul mot; 4° De régulariser la désinence orthographique des mots terminés en *ant* et *ent*; 5° De distinguer, par une légère modification (la cédille placée sous le *t*), des mots terminés en *tie* et *tion*, qui se prononcent tantôt avec le son du *t* et tantôt avec le son de l'*s*; 6° De remplacer, dans certains mots, l'*y* par l' *i*; 7° De donner une application spéciale aux deux formes *g* et *g* au cas où le *j*, dont le son est celui du *g* doux, ne serait pas préférable; 8° De substituer l'*s* à l'*x*, comme marque du pluriel à certains mots, comme elle l'a fait pour *lois*, au lieu de *loix* (*lex*, la loi, *leges*, les lois). Parmi ces principales modifications généralement réclamées, l'Académie adoptera celles qu'elle jugera le plus importantes et le plus opportunes. Quant à celles qu'elle croira devoir ajourner, il suffirait, ainsi qu'elle l'a fait quelquefois dans la sixième édition, et conformément à l'avis de ses *Cahiers* de 1694, d'ouvrir la voie à leur adoption future

much inconvenience from the uncertainty, and most writers select the spelling which their hand takes from habit without consideration, and do not call the compositor to order if he alters it in print. And compositors, with their authorized superiors, the printers' readers, have habits of their own as to spelling and punctuation, regarding their author's MS. as an orthographical exercise which it is their business to correct; so that, except in extremely rare cases where the author is opinionated and insists on the compositor "following copy,"[1] no printed book represents the orthography and punctuation of the man of education who writes, but only of the man of routine who prints.[2]

au moyen de la formule: *Quelques-uns écrivent* . . . : ou en se servant de cette autre locution: *On pourrait écrire* . . . . Par cette simple indication, chacun ne se croirait pas irrévocablement enchaîné, et pourrait tenter quelques modifications dans l'écriture et dans l'impression des livres," p. 23. This is the latest French view of the question.

[1] And then the compositor can easily take his revenge, and disgust his author, by copying all the careless blunders which haste and the habit of leaving such matters to the printer have engendered in our writers. The literal exhibition of the greater part of "the copy for press," and still more of the correspondence, of even esteemed men of letters, would show that our present orthography, including the use of capitals and punctuation, is by no means so settled as printed books, and the stress laid upon "correct" spelling in Civil Service Examinations, would lead us to suppose.

[2] Some months after this paragraph was written, I received a letter from Prof. F. J. Child, of Harvard, in which he says: "I wish you may make the Philological Society take some tenable ground as to orthography in their dictionary. Nothing can be more absurd than the veneration felt and paid to the actual spelling of English, as if it had been shaped by the national mind, and were not really imposed upon us by the foremen of some printing offices. In America all books printed in New York exhibit Webster's spelling, and most books printed at Cambridge (a great place for printers), Worcester's. Although we cannot trace the English spelling-book, so far as I know, I am fully convinced that it is largely of printing office origin." As this sheet was passing through the press my attention was directed to the following letter from the Mr. Jones, mentioned p. 590, n. 1, in the *Athenæum*, 10 July 1869, in which he seems to be endeavouring to give effect to his views by means of an association. The "Fonetic Nuz" Spelling alluded to, is that employed by the present writer in the *Phonetic News* in 1849: "*Spelling Reform.*—Perhaps you will allow me a short space to lay before your readers a brief statement of the objects of the Spelling Reform Association. The very mention of 'Spelling Reform' suggests to most people something like the 'Fonetic Nuz' system, which has been the subject of so much ridicule. Permit me then to say, without expressing any opinion upon the phonetic method, that the Spelling Reform Association does not propose to introduce that mode of Spelling the English language, but that our recommendations are based upon the following assumptions, which most persons will readily admit:—1. No one would desire to stereotype and hand down to posterity our orthography in its present state; but there is a vague notion that at *some* time and by *some* means the thing will be rectified. 2. England is about the only country in Europe in which the orthography has not been, in some way or other, adjusted; and orthography is one of the very few subjects in England which have not been adapted to modern requirements. 3. The anomalies of the orthography cause serious obstruction to the education of the people, most of the time in Government schools

Still there is a latent spark of that fire which warmed the original writers of our own manuscripts, and there is a notion that certain combinations have an inherent tendency to represent certain sounds, and conversely that certain sounds are naturally represented by certain combinations. The last section will have shown with what allowances the first statement must be received in the XIX th century; the following table will show how varied are the combinations which have been and are employed to represent the sounds.

In drawing up the list of sounds represented, it was necessary to include all the sounds which, so far as the preceding investigation shews, previously existed in our language, and those which recent and minute examination establishes to exist at present, including those newly introduced French words which are spoken in a semi-French pronunciation. The following list is an extract from the completer list of spoken sounds in the introduction, and for convenience is arranged in the same order. The same abbreviations are used as in the last section.

being occupied in teaching reading and spelling—with arithmetic—with miserable results, as to the proportion of children turned out of these schools having the ability to read with intelligence and to spell correctly. 4. The various examinations conducted by the Government, the Universities, and other examining bodies, give a fictitious value, and virtually give the sanction of their approval, to a system which has no claim whatever to be regarded as 'the best method of spelling words,' a system which has been described by high authority as 'an accidental custom, a mass of anomalies, the growth of ignorance and chance, equally repugnant to good taste and to common sense.' 5. A simplification of the orthography would do more to give the people the ability to read with intelligence and to spell correctly than any amount of Government grants or any legislation whatever. 6. No individual or society under present circumstances would have sufficient influence to introduce an improved system of orthography; if done at all, it must be by the co-operation of literary men, teachers, examiners, printers, and the public generally. 7. It is possible, by observing analogy and following precedent, without introducing any new letters or applying any new principle, to simplify the orthography so as to reduce the difficulties to a minimun, and to replace confusion and caprice by order and symmetry. The Spelling Reform Association invite the co-operation of all literary men and friends of education in this desirable object. E. JONES, Hon. Sec." The opinions entertained by the present writer on the subject thus broached by Prof. Child, and Mr. Jones, will be developed in the subsequent sections of this chapter, and the same remarks apply *mutatis mutandis* to M. Didot's French proposals. It will there appear that I do not see how any "tenable ground" can be taken by the Philological Society "as to the orthography of their dictionary," beyond the accident of present custom in London. Much might be said on Mr. Jones's seven points, which he believes "most persons will readily admit." Why our present orthography should be considered so much less worthy to be handed down to posterity than one modified on Mr. Jones's "principles," and how any such modifications would render its use beneficial in schools to the extent anticipated, I am at a loss to conceive. To Mr. Jones's seventh proposition, if I understand it aright, my own orthographic studies lead me to give an unqualified denial.

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE EXPRESSION OF SOUNDS IN ENGLISH WRITING.

(A a), was always represented by *a* from 13. to 19., the sound went out in 17., and now only exists in rather a rare pronunciation of: *a*sk, st*a*ff, comm*a*nd, p*a*ss, and similar words, and is considered to exist in: st*a*r, c*a*rd, by those who believe the vowel short; it is common in the provinces in place (æ).

(*A a*), was probably the ags. sound written *a*, possibly the sound meant by *oa* in 13.; it is now lost in English, but is heard in Scotch.

(:A A), according to Wallis, etc., the sound into which short *o* fell in 17. when "fall folly, call collar, lawes losse, cause cost, aw'd odd, saw'd sod," were considered as perfect pairs. In 19. this short *o* is (ɔ). The distinction is delicate, but may be rendered appreciable by drawling *odd* into (ɔɔd) which will be found to be different from *awed* (AAd), or by shortening the vowel in the latter word, producing (Ad) which is different from *odd* (ɔd). In 19. *a* after a (w) sound, as *what*, *watch*, *squash*, (whAt, wAtch, sk*w*Ash), is the sole representative of this sound, and even here most speakers use (ɔ).

(Aa aa) was represented by *a* always in 13., and by *a* in open, and frequently by *aa* in closed syllables in 14. In 16. it was still written *a* without any indication that the syllable was long, except by an occasional mute final *e*. The sound was lost in 17., except perhaps before *r*, so that *ar*, *er* in t*ar*, cl*er*k, may have represented (aar), though they were acknowledged, and perhaps most frequently pronounced, as (ær) only. In 19. the indication of length and quality is variously made according to the origin of the word in: f*a*ther, *are* (but not in b*are*, f*are*, etc.), ser*a*glio, *ah*, *a*lms, M*a*lmesbury, éclat, *au*nt, b*ar*que, cl*er*k, h*ea*rt, g*ua*rd, but its principal indication is *a* before *r* = (ɹ) professedly, but intended to be omitted by those persons who write *larf* to indicate (laaf). In London *ar*, when not followed by a vowel, may be regarded as the regular sign for (aa), and is so used by many writers. The *ah!* of the exclamation is, however, nearly as certain, and does not involve the *r* difficulty.

(*Aa aa*), this appears to have been the long *a* of ags. It has since disappeared from acknowledged sounds. It is, no doubt, heard in the provinces, and it is by some recognized as the common London sound meant for (aa), which see.

(:AA AA), unknown previously to 17., and then represented by *au*, *aw*, *augh*, *ough*; these sounds and notations still prevail. It replaced the sound of (au), and hence was represented by *a* before *l*, as now; or by *al*, with a mute *l*. It was identified with the German *a*, and is often called "German *a*" in pronouncing dictionaries; it was also identified with French *â*, and Miège could not hear the difference. See Erondell's remarks suprà p. 226, n., col. 2. In 17. *oa* represented it in br*oa*d. The following may be considered as its representatives in 19.: f*a*ll, *aa*m, M*a*gd*a*len College (MAAd·len), m*ah*l-stick, w*al*k, b*at*man, h*au*l, M*aw*de, n*augh*ty, V*augh*an, *au*ln, *aw*ful, *awe*, br*oa*d, s*ol*der (spelled s*aw*der in *Sam Slick*), *ough*t. The combination *or* is theoretically (ɔɹ), practically (AAɹ), or (AA); so that Dickens, in *Pickwick*, writes *Smorl Tork* as a name to indicate *small talk*. See suprà, p. 575, under *o*. Hence, extr*a*ordinary, G*eo*rgie, G*eo*rge, f*or*k, h*or*se, may be reckoned as other examples, even by those who do not include the *r* in the combination.

(Aah aah). This delicate sound probably formed the transition from (aa) to (ææ) in 17., and it is occasionally heard from "refined" speakers, as a variety of (aa), which they consider too "broad," while (ææ) used by others is too "mincing." It is a mere variety of (aa), and is represented in the same way.

(Æ æ) was probably the short ags. æ, but in ags. it rapidly became confused with (E, e), and was then lost. It reappears in 17. as a substitute for (a), and was represented by *a* and the same varieties as that sound. So it has remained, but by omitting letters, and reducing many (aa), and even other sounds, to this favourite short vowel, it is seen variously represented in 19., as: s*a*t,

Isaac, Mackay, drachm, have, always (ʜaav) down to 16., bagnio (bæn·ɹo), Taghmon (Tæm·ʊn), plaid, salmon, harangue, Clapham, considered as (Klæp·æm), but really (Klæp·ʊm), Tollemache (Tæl·mæsh), piquant. In 17. one, once were (wæn, wæns). It is in 19. also used by very delicate speakers, especially educated ladies in Yorkshire, in such words as: basket, staff, path, pass, aunt, in which (ah, a) and (ææ, aah, aa) are also heard. This vowel is now characteristic of English, and is the despair of foreigners.

(Ææ ææ). The long (ææ) replaced (aa) in 17., and was represented in all the ways in which (aa) had been previously pronounced. No change was acknowledged. The sound rapidly died out into the (ee) of 18., but it is now preserved in the West of England, where (Bææth, kææɹd) are pronounced for Bath, card. It is the name of the letter A in Ireland. Twenty years ago it was, and probably still is, a fashionable long sound of A in Copenhagen. It is sometimes heard in 19., especially from ladies, as a thinner utterance of (aa) than (aah) would be.

(Æu æu). See (eu).

(Ah ah). This thin sound is seldom heard in 19., except in the pronunciation of delicate speakers, in such words as: basket, staff, path, pass, aunt, and, as Mr. M. Bell believes, for the unaccented *a* in *a*mount, *c*anary, ide*a*, and rapidly pronounced *a*nd. It is also the first element in the diphthongs: h*igh*, h*ow*, as pronounced by some (ʜahi, ʜahu) in place of (ʜəi, ʜəu). It may have been the transition sound between (a) of 16., and (æ) of 17. It has the same representatives as (aa, a), generally *a*, sometimes *au*.

(Ahi ahi). See (ai, əi).

(Ahu ahu). See (au, əu).

(Ai ai), if this diphthong occurred at all in ags. it was represented by aʒ, and seems to be the aʒʒ of Orrmin. In 13. it was written *ei*, *ey*, *ai*, *ay*, and this representation continued, perhaps, through 16. After 16. the sound seems to have disappeared, but probably remained in a few words, and in 19. it is generally heard in the affirmative *ay*, or *aye*, and from many clergymen in Is*ai*ah. In the provinces it is a common pronunciation of long *i*. Mr. M. Bell considers that sound, however, and the German pronunciation of *ei*, *ai*, to be (*ai*), and (ai) to be the general sound of English long *i*; in that case (ai) would then have the expressions given below for (əi).

(Aʌ aʌ), this French sound has only recently been introduced into English, but is firmly established in *aide-de-camp* (*ee* di kaʌ), the last word being called (kʌʌq, kɔq, kæmp) by different orthoepists, but (kʌq, kɔq) would not be endured, and (kɔn) is more often said. In *en*virons (aʌ·viroʌ, envəiɹ·rɔnz), an *en*velope (aʌ·vilʊp, en·veləp), custom varies. For *en*nui the pronunciation (aʌwii·), or (ɔnwii), is common, (ɔqwii·) is *passé*, the old form was *annoy*, = (anui·). Perhaps it would be more correctly written (ʌʌ) as pronounced by Englishmen, the labialisation being disclaimed by Frenchmen.

(Au au), in Orrmin *aww*, in 14. to 16. *au*, *aw*. This sound was lost in 17. and has not been recovered, though some declaimers still say (aul) for (ʌʌl) *all*. Heard in the provinces. It is the German sound of *au*. Mr. M. Bell, however, considering this last to be (*a*u), and believes (au) to be the usual sound here assumed to be (əu), in which case it would really exist in the language, and be expressed as (əu) is stated to be below.

(B b), always expressed by *b*, or *bb*. The mute final *e*, and assimilated letters, have produced the 19. varieties: *be*, e*bb*, e*bbe*d, ba*be*, Co*ck*burn (Koo·bɹn), Ho*lb*orn, cu*pb*oard (this was also in 17.), hau*tb*oy (ʜoo·bɔi). In 17. Jones finds de*p*uty, cu*p*id, etc., pronounced with (b).

(Bh bh). It is doubtful whether this sound was ever known in England, but Dr. Rapp considers it was ags. *w*. It is possible that the southern (London and Kent) tendency to convert (v) into (w) may arise from some original mispronunciation of *v* as (bh). The sound is not only not acknowledged, but is rarely understood by Englishmen. Even in parts of North Germany (bh) has been replaced by (v). See the description of the sound, p. 513, note 2.

(D d), always expressed by *d*, *dd*. The mute final *e*, and assimilated letters, together with foreign words, have produced the 19. varieties: *bd*ellium,

*d*eep, a*dd*, Bu*dd*hist, tra*d*e, Wyn*dh*am, lo*v*ed, wou*l*d, bur*th*en, usually bur*d*en. In 17. they had: sou*ld*ier, wou*ld*, etc., bur*th*en, mur*th*er, etc.

(Dh dh), this sound must have existed in ags., but it is not possible to say whether þ, or ð, was meant for it. In Icelandic þ is (th), and ð (dh), but they must have been confused in ags. at an early period. See suprà p. 515, p. 541, n. 2, p. 555, n. 1, col. 2. Even Orrmin does not distinguish them. When *th* was introduced it was used indiscriminately for (th, dh). The 19. sign is still *th*, though there seems to be a feeling that *e* final will ensure the sound (dh), as brea*th*, brea*the* (breth, briidh). Some literary men write *dth* to indicate the sound.

(Dj dj), an unacknowledged English sound, common in speech in 19., and represented by *d* before *u*, as: ver*d*ure = (vɪ·dj*ʊɪ*), when the speaker wishes to avoid (vɪ·dzhɪ). It is palatalised (d), a transition sound between (d) and (dzh), and is distinct from (dɪ). Vulgar speakers do not change *would you?* into (w*ʊ*dzh·ɪ), but into (w*ʊ*dj·u). Some even say (·w*ʊ*d·ˌdzhɪɪ?).

(Dw dw). See (d*w*).

(D*w* d*w*) is perhaps the true sound heard in: *dw*ell, *dw*arf, generally accepted as (dw), with doubts as to whether it is not (du). It seems to be an unacknowledged lip modification of (d), so that (d) and (w) are heard simultaneously, rather than consecutively, the lips being rounded as for (w), while the tongue is raised for (d), and the separation of the lips and of the tongue from the palate taking place at the same time to admit the passage of the vowel. How long this sound has existed as distinct from (dw, du) cannot be said.

(Dzh dzh), does not seem to have occurred before 13., and arose first from palatisation of final (g) in ags., which, after short accented vowels in closed syllables, passed through the form (*ɣ*), rather than (*g*h), and hence generated (dzh) in place of (ɪ), as: edge, hedge, ledge, fledge, compare ags. ecg, hege hæg, lecgan, flycge; and, secondly, from the French *i* consonant, and *g* before *e*, *i*, which there is good reason to suppose was pronounced at one time as (dzh), and which is said to be (dz) in present Provençal, by a writer who confuses the Spanish *ch*, which is (tsh), with (ts), (Mirèio, Mireille, poème provençal de Frédéric Mistral, avec la traduction littérale en regard, 8vo., 1868, p. vii). Hence it is expressed by *i* consonant, *g*, *gg*, *dg*. Subsequently only *j*, *g*, *dg* (the latter before *e* generally) were used, but not consistently. In 19. we have: Greenwi*ch*, sol*d*ier, which was also heard in 17., with omitted *l*, as (soo·dzher, sʌdzh·er), ju*dg*ment, ri*dge*, We*dne*sbury (Wedzh·berī), *g*em, colle*ge*, Bellin*gh*am (Bel·indzhʊm), *j*ust.

(E e), this, or (ɛ) was the ags. short *e*, and has prevailed in one form or the other to this day. I am myself in the habit of saying (e), but this appears too delicate to Mr. Melville Bell, who prefers (ɛ), which is the Scotch sound, and is in Scotland by many English people confused with (æ), see p. 271. It was occasionally expressed by *u* from 13. to 16. Being an exceedingly common sound, it easily absorbed related sounds, and hence even in 17. had numerous forms of expression, the only normal form both then and now being *e*, but *ea* was very common in 17. as in 18. and 19., and *ai* in 17. in unaccented syllables as cap*tai*n, now (kæp·t*y*n), nearly (kæp·ten) or (kæp·t*i*n). Before *r* it seems to have been the refuge of other sounds, which however may be more properly (ʊ). The following are 19, varieties: m*a*ny, Pontefr*a*ct (Pʊm·fret), P*æ*stum, Mich*a*el, Th*a*mes, s*ai*d, Aberg*a*venny [(Æb·ʌgenī) written *Aburgany* in the Shakspere folio 1623, Hen. VIII. i, 1, speech 49, where it must be in four syllables for the metre; this is not the Welsh pronunciation, but is common in England,] s*ay*s, l*e*t, h*ea*d, d*e*bt, We*d*nesday, all*e*ge, fore*hea*d, h*ei*fer, L*ei*cester, l*eo*pard, che*que*, rende*z*vous, r*he*toric, fr*ie*nd, consc*ie*nce, f*oe*tid, conn*oi*sseur, b*u*ry, g*ue*ss, panegy*r*ic, [this pronunciation is going out, as also that in sp*i*rit, s*y*rrup, st*i*rrup], gun*w*ale, Thomas's (Tom·ʊsez). If the sound is admitted in the syllable (eɪ) for (ɪ) then we might add: sabr*e*, v*i*rtue, Br*i*dlington, sapph*i*re, bett*o*r, Urqu*ha*rt, ans*w*er. Most of these expressions are highly exceptional, and

arise partly from assimilations and omissions, and partly from insertions. Still the spelling has remained and has to be separately memorized by those who would use it, as no rule can be assigned.

(*E e*). It is impossible to say whether this sound occurred in ags. or old English as distinct from (e). Whether the final unaccented *e* of 13. and 14. had the sound of (*e*) or (e), or whether it was not rather (ɐ), is also impossible to determine. In 19. the sound only occurs as short and unaccented, in some words, as *aerial*, *aorta* (*e*er·ɪɐl, *e*ɔɹ·ta), for which some would read (ahɔɹ·tah). It is the French *é*.

(:E ɛ). This is a variety of (e) and in the pronunciation of some persons uniformly replaces it, and has been therefore always expressed as (e) was, wherever it occurred. See (e).

(ꟻ ə). This sound does not appear in English till the middle of 17. It is not named by Butler, 1631. It is distinctly recognised by Wallis, 1653, and Wilkins, 1668, and all subsequent writers. It replaced (u) and was expressed as (u) had been by *u*, *o* and occasionally *ou*, and these have remained its principal forms to 19., but numerous degradations have occurred especially in unaccented syllables, where, however, stricter analysis seems to shew that the sound is now rather (ɐ). Thus we have the 19. varieties: rib*a*nd, meersch*au*m, escutch*eo*n, *hu*mble, mot*ion*, consc*ious*, s*o*n, d*oe*s, l*ove*, tort*oise*, Linc*oln*, fl*oo*d, d*ou*ble, t*ongue*, bell*ows*, t*wo*ppence (in 17),—and if we consider that (ɹ) is properly (əɹ) we have this vowel in: amat*eur*, cupb*oa*rd, av*oi*rdupoise, c*ol*onel, liq*ueur*, liq*uo*r. Mr. M. Bell uses (ɐ) for (e).

(ꟻ *ə*). This French sound should of course be used in those French words containing it, which are used in English, but it is always replaced by the familiar (ə, ɹ).

(Ɔ ɐ). This faintly-characterised vowel is recognized by Mr. Melville Bell as the real sound in unaccented syllables, where 19. orthoepists usually assume (ə, a) to exist, before *n*, *l*, *r*, and *s*, as: motion oc*ea*n, princip*a*l, Tart*a*r, facet*ious*. It is therefore expressed by any combination denoting unaccented (ə, æ).

(Ee ee.) In earlier English down to 18. we cannot distinguish (*ee*, ee). In ags. it seems to have been represented only by *e* or *é*. In 13. it was also represented by *æ*, and occasionally by *ea*, *eo*, at least, these forms all interchange with *e*. In 14. *eo* was almost quite dropped (though both *eo*, *oe* are occasionally found), and *ea* was very sparingly used, but *ee* was common, especially in closed syllables. In 16. the practice was introduced of representing (ee) by *e*, *ea* only, to the exclusion of *ee*. During 17. *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey* were used as well as *e*, *ea*, but the two latter forms were less and less used as (ee), till they became exceptional expressions in 18. and 19. In the middle of 18. the usual forms were *a* (with any addition which shewed prolongation, as a final mute *e*), *ai*, *ay*, occasionally *ea*, and *ei*, *ey*, but the two last forms were rapidly going out, and at the end of 18. and beginning of 19. few remained. In 19., if not earlier, (ee) was separated from (*ee*), and the sound of (ee) was only used before *r* (ɹ), but it was expressed by all the same forms as (*ee*). This limitation of the sound of (ee) reduces the number of its forms in 19. where we find: *Aa*ron, m*are*, *ae*rie, *ai*r, *Ay*r, m*ay*or, p*ea*r, *ere*, *e'er*, th*ei*r, *eyre*, h*ei*r. See (*ee*).

(*Ee ee*). This sound was not consciously separated from (ee) till the end of 18. or till 19. Even now many persons do not perceive the difference (*ee*, ee), or if they do hear the sounds they analyse them as (eei, ee). In some parts of England (ee) alone is said, in the South many people cannot pronounce (ee) before any letter but (ɹ), and cannot prolong (*ee*) without dropping into (i), thus (*eei*). Some assert that (*ee*) is never pronounced, but only (*eei*), with which they would write the words: m*a*te, champ*agne*, d*ah*lia, p*ai*n, camp*aign*, str*aight*, tr*ait*, h*alf*penny, often (ʜaa·pen*i*) in the North, g*ao*l, C*ars*halton (k*ee*s·ʜaat'n), g*au*ge, pl*ague*, pl*ay*, gr*eat*, *eh!* v*eil*, r*eign*, w*eigh*, th*ey*, *eyot*.

(ꟻə əə). Never a recognized sound, but one from which (ɹɹ) is with difficulty distinguished. It is therefore heard in place of (əɹ, eɹ), or rather (ɹɹ, ɹɹ), by the representatives of which it is always expressed.

(Eei eei.) In 16. Gill acknowledges (eei) and frequently writes it in the word *they* (dheei). It probably existed in 17., as it is partially acknowledged by Cooper. If so it was written *ei*, *ey*, *ai*, *ay*. Most probably its use increased in 18., but there is no proper note of it.

(*E*ei *ee*i.) This sound is not acknowledged before 19., and then the extent of it is disputed. Some make it coextensive with the spelling *ai*, *ay*, others make it replace the sound of (*ee*) under whatever form it is expressed. Some persons in the South of England seem incapable of sustaining (ee) or (*ee*) without rapidly falling into (*i*, i). See (*ee*).

(ꝯh əh.) This replaces (ə) under whatever form it may be expressed, in the pronunciation of many persons. It is the form acknowledged by Mr. M. Bell.

(Ei ei.) In 16. this is acknowledged by Salesbury, and Hart as the sound of *i* long and of *ei*, *ey*. Smith acknowledges it in a few words, containing *ei*, *ey*, where he doubtfully distinguishes it from (ai), but he marks *i* long as a separate vowel, which he identifies with the English words for "ego, oculus, etiam," *I*, *eye*, *aye*. Gill sometimes writes (ei), sometimes (eei), in the same words, and considers long *i* to be very nearly the same. Wallis does not acknowledge the sound, and it seems to have expired in 17. It is, however, reviving, although unacknowledged, as a substitute for (eei) and that for (*ee*), as (rein) *rain*.

(*E*i *ei*.) A variant of (ei), which cannot be properly distinguished from it in accounts of pronunciation, but seems to be the true sound of the modern Scotch long *i* in many words, see p. 290.

(ꝯi əi), or perhaps (əi) is acknowledged by Wallis and Wilkins in 17., and was perhaps intended by Gill as the sound of long *i*, and has since remained that sound, though individually and provincially replaced by (ai, ahi, ei, *ei*), etc., see p. 108. It is expressed by any combination of sounds which indicate that *i* or *y* is to be long. Hence in 19. we have: n*ai*ve, *ai*sle, d*ei*pnosophist (and as many pronounce *ei*ther, n*ei*ther) h*eigh*t, the older sounds (heet, heeit) are occasionally heard, (hekht) is still heard in Scotland, (hekth) has been noted in the neighbourhood of Ledbury, Herefordshire, (həitth, həith) are mistaken pronunciations—*ey*ing, *eye*, r*hi*noceros, R*hi*ne, r*hy*ming, r*hy*me, b*i*nd — this mode of expressing long *i* is found as early as 16., — ind*i*ct, d*ie*, l*i*ve, s*ig*n, s*igh*, s*igh*ed, v*i*scount, *isle*, beg*ui*ling, beg*ui*le, b*uy*, fl*y*, d*ye*, sc*y*the.

(Eʌ eʌ) is not an English sound, and no attempt to pronounce it occurs before 18. In 19. coup de main, which Feline writes (ku-d meʌ), is written (kuu·dimæq) by Worcester, (kuu dimæq·) by Webster, (kuu·*di*maaq) by Knowles, (kuu·damæq:) by Smart, (kuu·dim*ee*n) by Mavor. It is generally called (kuu·*di* meʌ), though some affect the complete French pronunciation.

(ꝯʌ əʌ), this is also not an English sound and is so rare in French that it is seldom borrowed in English, except in the name of the game *vingt et un*, usually called (veʌtəʌ·) in England, often corrupted to (væntiun·, vændzhən·), just as *rouge et noir* becomes *Russian war*, from the older pronunciation, still occasionally heard, of (Ruu·shen waar).

(Eu eu) Common in 13. and 14. as the sound of *eu ew*, from ags. *eaw*, etc. Less frequent in 16., expiring in 17., and lost in 18. In 19. it is frequent as a London pronunciation of (əu), thus (deun teun) for *down town*, and either in this form or (eu, æu) common in Yankee speech, and in the East Anglican dialect. It is acknowledged in Italian and Spanish *Eu*ropa, and in modern Provençal, both *èu*, and *iéu* (eu, iéu) are distinguished, the last word being the French *je*.

(:Eu, eu). See (eu).

(ꝯu əu). Not known before 17. In 17. and since, acknowledged as the sound heard in n*ow* h*ow*, though some pronounce (æu, ou, ou, au, ahu) and even (æu, eu). Expressed generally by *ou*, *ow*, with or without mute letters. In 19 we find: *caout*choue, Macl*eod*, *hour*, compter, n*ou*n, d*oub*t, ren*ou*nce, b*ough*, c*ow*, all*ow*ed.

(F f). From ags. to present day represented by *f*, *ph*, with their duplications *ff*, *pph*. From 16., at least, occasionally expressed by *gh*. In 19. we find: *f*oe, fi*f*e, sti*ff*, stu*ff*ed, *f*lugleman — a mere corruption — o*ff*en, lau*gh*, ha*lf*, sa*pph*ire, lie*u*tenant.

(G g). From ags. to present day expressed by *g*. In 14. also by *gg* and in 15. also by *gge* final. *Gh*ost is found in 16. In 19. we have bla*ck*-*gu*ard, *go*, e*gg*, be*gg*ed, *gh*ost, *gu*ess, pla*gu*e.

(*G g*) or (gj), palatalized (g). Probably in ags. *g* before a palatal vowel, subsequently (dzh). After that change (*g*) cannot be clearly traced before 18., but it is still found in 19., represented by *g*, *gu*, before *a* (aa, aɹ) or long *i* (əi), as: *g*arden, *gu*ard, re*g*ard, *gu*ide. In 18., it seems to have been also used before short *a* (æ).

(Gh gh). In ags. perhaps more certainly in 13., expressed by ʒ, after *a*, *o*, *u* long and followed by a vowel as *oʒen*. Possibly the sound after *o*, *u* was labialized to (g*w*h). Whether these sounds were entirely lost in 14., being replaced by (kh, k*w*h), it is difficult to say; probably not. As long as they lasted they were expressed by ʒ, *gh*. It must have been lost in 16.

(*G*h *g*h). In ags. perhaps, more certainly in 13., expressed by ʒ after *e*, *i* long or short, and occasionally after *r*, *l*, in which case it fell into (*i*). In ags. perhaps the initial sound of ʒ before palatals, which in 13. was replaced by (ɹ). In 13. written ʒ, ʒ*h*, *yh*. After 13. generally replaced by (*k*h, ɹ), and written ʒ, *gh*, *y*.

(Grh grh). Only known as a local peculiarity, the Northumbrian burr, and then expressed by *r*, *rr* as in *Harriet* (Hagrh·i*o*t). See (*r*).

(G*w* g*w*). The labial modification of *g*, confused with (gw), from which it differs almost as simultaneity from succession, (g*w*) resulting from attempting to pronounce (g) and (w) at the same time. How long it has been known in English cannot be determined, but it is probably a very early combination in the Romance languages. In 19. it is expressed by *gu* in: *gu*aiacum, *gu*ano, *gu*ava (g*w*ai·akəm, g*w*aa·n*o*, g*w*aa·va).

(G*w*h g*w*h). Probably an ags. sound of ʒ after labials, and occasionally *r*, *l*, in which case it became (u, *o*). In 14. probably expressed by *gh* after *o*, *u*. Perhaps *lahh*, *laugh*, *lauwh*, indicated (lagh, laug*w*h, lauwh) passing to (lauf). But the sounds may have been (lakh, lauk*w*h, lawh).

(H H). The true aspirate consisting of a jerked emission of the following vowel without the previous intervention of the whisper, was, probably, the genuine old form of aspiration, as shewn in the Sanscrit post-aspirates. It was frequently interchanged with (H', kh, gh), the last (gh) being the value of the Sanscrit ह usually considered as *h*. Represented whenever it occurred from ags. to 19., by *h*. See (H').

(H' H'). The jerked utterance accompanied by a whispered breath preceeding the vowel. The jerk is of importance; ('a-aa), is different from (H-'a-aa = H'aa). Constantly occurring, and represented by *h*, but in 16. occasionally by *gh*. In 19., either (H) or (H') according to a speaker's habits of utterance, and frequently according to the momentary impulse of the speaker, is expressed by the following varieties: Calla*gh*an —and by *gh* in many other Irish names — *h*ole, *Colqu*houn, *wh*ole. Uneducated speakers, especially when nervous, and anxious not to leave out an *h*, or when emphatic, introduce a marked (H') in places where it is not acknowledged in writing or in educated speech. On the other hand both (H, H',) are frequently omitted, by a much more educated class than those who insert (H'), and in the provinces and among persons below the middle-class in London, the use and non-use of (H, H') varies from individual to individual, and has no apparent connection with the writing. Hence its pronunciation has become in recent times a sort of social shibboleth. The very uncertain and confused use of *h* in old MSS., especially of 13., serve to make it probable that there was always much uncertainty in the pronunciation of *h* in our provinces. The Scotch never omit or insert it, except in *huz* (HƎZ), the emphatic form of *us*. The Germans are equally strict. But the sound (H) or (H') is unknown in French, Italian, Spanish, modern Greek, and the Sclavonic languages.

(I i). Whether this sound existed in closed accented syllables before 16., is doubtful, probably not. After 16. there is reason to suppose that if it did exist, its use must have been

very limited. In Scotland it both did and does exist. In all cases it was represented by *i*, *y*. As a short sound in open syllables it was probably quite common, and was in ags. to 14. represented by *i*. In 16. this short open (i) was *e* as in: b*e*leeve (biliiv·). At present the distinction between (i, *i*) in such cases is rather doubtful, and both are apt to be merged into (ʊ). But where the distinction is made, short (i) is always expressed by *e*; see (*i*).

(*I i*). This seems to have been the common sound represented by short *i* in close accented syllables in ags., and by short *i*, *y*, and occasionally *u* in this situation from 13. to 19., and with tolerable certainty from 14. to 19. In 16., as a final, it was frequently written *ie*. Orthoepists, however, constantly confuse (i, *i*) both in closed and open syllables, so that any real separation of (i, *i*), is hazardous. In 19., (*i*) in closed syllables is expressed in a great variety of ways, owing to various degradations, but generally as *i*, *y* with some letters which have become mute, and when in final open syllables, generally by *y* or some variety of the same. The following forms may be noticed. *In closed syllables*: landsc*a*pe, S*ai*nt John (S*i*n·dzhʊn) as a family name, Jerv*au*lx (Jaaɹ·v*i*s), pr*e*tty, guin*ea*s, *beau*fin, br*ee*ches, forf*ei*t, Th*eo*bald (T*i*b·ʊld) the recognized name of an editor of Shakspere and a street in London, hous*ewi*fe (ʜəz·if) a threadholder, ex*hi*b·*i*t (egzib·it) some say (ecsʜ'*i*b·*i*t) with a very marked (ʜ'), r*hy*thm, p*i*t, mar*ri*ages, marr*ia*ge, pit*ie*d, to l*i*ve, s*ie*ve, f*iv*epence, w*o*men, gr*oa*ts (gr*i*ts), Jerv*oi*s, Mis*tr*ess (M*i*s·*i*s), b*u*sy, lett*u*ce, b*ui*ld, b*usi*ness, Tyr*whi*tt (T*i*r·*i*t), Chis*wi*ck (Tsh*i*z·*i*k), ph*y*sic, W*ymon*dham (W*i*nd·ʊm). *In open syllables*, many of the above forms and: Roths*ay*, mon*ey*, Ann*ie*, Beaul*ieu* (Biu·l*i*), fell*oe* (fel·*i*), cham*ois* leather (shæm·*i*), plag*uy*.

(Ii ii). In ags. either (ii) or (*ii*), which see, was always expressed by *i* long, and so on to 14. and part of 15. After 15. (ii) was only rarely expressed by *i* long, but more and more frequently by *e*, *ee*, and in 16. frequently by *e ee* and rarely by *ea*, *ie*. The expression by *ea*, *ie* increased slightly in 17. In 18. *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *ie*, were the rule, and *ei*, *ey* the exceptions. In 19. the two latter also became the rule. The Latin æ, œ were also added to the list, and various degradations swelled the expressions of (ii) in 19. to the following extraordinary variety: minuti*æ*, de*ma*in, C*ai*us College, b*e*, *ea*ch, fl*ea*ed, l*ea*ve, B*eau*champ (Bee·tshʊm), l*eague*, f*ee*t, *e'e*n, compl*ete*, sl*ee*ve, impr*eg*n, L*egh*, conc*ei*t, conc*ei*ve, s*eig*niory, L*eigh*, rec*eip*t, B*el*voir, p*eo*ple, dem*es*ne, k*ey*, W*e*myss (Wiimz), k*ey*ed, diarr*hœ*a, inval*i*d, gr*ief*, magaz*ine*, gr*ieve*, s*ig*niour, fus*il*, debr*is*, intr*igue*, f*œ*tus, q*uay*, q*uay*ed, mosq*ui*to, turq*uoise* (tɹkiiz·) according to Walker, Smart, and Worcester, more commonly (tyrkwʌʌz·)

(*Ii ii*). In 14., and most probably earlier, the sound of long *i* and *y*. During 15. this sound nearly expired and was only retained by a few individuals in 16., being replaced by (ei, *i*) according as the syllable in which it occurred retained or lost the accent. It is heard in Scotch in 19., where a short (*i*) is accidentally lengthened as: gi'e, wi'. In English it is an unacknowledged sound often heard from singers who lengthen a short (*i*), as (st*ii*l) for (st*i*l) still, as distinct from (stiil) steal, see pp. 106, 271.

(Iu iu iuu). These sounds cannot well be separated. They probably never occurred initially. When Smith wrote *iunker* in 16. he meant (ɹuq·ker). The sound was not recognized till 17., when it was generally expressed by long *u*, or *eu*, *ew*. The same combinations used initially, as in *use*, *u*nite, *ewe*, probably expressed (ɹiuu, ɹiu, ɹiuu). In my phonetic spelling I have seldom thought it necessary to distinguish (iu, iuu) and have frequently omitted to prefix the (ɹ). From these sounds should be distinguished (ɹuu, ɹu) which are also confounded with them, but are usually written *you*. With these the sounds (ɹhiu, ɹhiuu) often confounded with them, had best be considered. The following are the 19. varieties of expressing these sounds:

(iu) mon*u*ment, doc*u*ment, inc*u*bate, mant*ua*maker.

(iuu) b*eau*ty, f*eo*d, f*eu*dal, d*eu*ce,

L*eve*son, n*ew*, ad*ieu*, v*iew*, v*iew*ed, fl*u*gleman, am*u*sing, f*uch*sia (fiuu·shia), c*ue*, am*use*, q*ueue*, imp*ugn*, b*uh*l, s*uit*, p*uisne*, (piuu·nɪ), l*ute*string (liuu·strɪq,) f*ugue*.

(ɟiu) *u*nite, Eugene (Jiudzhiin·)

(ɟiuu) *eugh*, *ewe*, *yew*, *yu*le.

(ɟu) in 16. young = (ɟuq) like present German *jung*.

(ɟuu) *you*, *you*th.

(ɟhiu) *hu*mane.

(ɟhiuu) *hu*man, *hue*, *Hugh*, *Hughes*.

(J ɟ). The palatal consonant into which ags. initial (*g*h) degenerated, generally confounded with an initial unaccented (i), whence it is occasionally derived, and often confused with the palatal modification (j) from which it differs as (w) from (*w*). Apparently in use from 13. to 19., expressed in 13. and often in 14. by ȝ, ȝ, whence the modern forms *y*, *z*, p. 310, and p. 298, note. The varieties in 19., are: hid*e*ous, on*i*on, hallelu*j*ah, *y*ard, Den*z*il.

(Jh ɟh). Orrmin's ȝh in ȝ*heo* she. The whispered (ɟh) differs from (ɟ), as (*k*h) from (*g*h), but is by Germans confounded with (*k*h), although often prononnced by them quite distinctly in *ja* (ɟhaa) for (ɟaa). It has probably often been pronounced in English, but it is not recognized, and even in the words cited under (iu) it is not now generally acknowledged, (ɟhiuu) being taken as (H'ɟuu, H'iuu) sounds which are not easy to utter. It has no special representative, but is implied by any combination apparently expressing (H'+iu).

(K k). The sound has been in use from ags. to 19. In ags. expressed by *c* invariably. In 13. generally by *c*, occasionally by *k*. In 14. by *k* and occasionally by *kk*, *ck*, but frequently in words from the Latin and French by *c*, *cc*. In 16. by *c*, *cc*, *k*. *ck*, and occasionally *ch*. In 17. *gh*, *qu* were added to the list. All these remain, except *kk*, which was disused before 16. In 19. we have: *c*an, a*cc*ount, Ba*cch*anal, s*ch*ool, a*che*, ba*ck*, ha*cke*d, a*cq*uaint, hou*gh*, *k*ale, ba*ke*, wa*lk*, *q*uack, *qu*ay, anti*que*, Ur*quh*art, vis*c*ount, ha*tch*el (Hæk·'l) also written *hackle*, *heckle*, except.

(*K k*). This is the palatalized form of (k), see *g*, and its existence was acknowledged, and expressed in 18. by *c*, *k* before *a* (aa, aɪ, æ) and *i* (əi) as in: *c*art, *c*andle, s*k*y. This is regarded as antiquated in 19. but is still heard.

(Kh kh). In ags. expressed by *h*, *hh*; in 13. by ȝ, *gh*, and very rarely by *ch*, p. 441, from 14. to 16. by *gh*. After 16. lost in English, though common in Scotch, where it is usually written *ch*. At no time were the palatal and labial modifications (kjh, k*w*h) distinguished in writing from (kh), but there seems reason to suppose that a preceding vowel when palatal determined (*k*h = kjh), when ·guttural (kh) and when labial (k*w*h). See also (g*w*h).

(*K*h *k*h). See (kh).

(K*w* k*w*). This sound has always been confused with (kw), but there is reason to suppose that (k*w*) has been the real sound from the earliest times, pp. 512, 514, 561. In ags. (k*w*) was expressed by *cw*, in 13. *qu* seems to have been introduced and to have remained to 19.

(K*w*h k*w*h). See (kh).

(L l). From ags. to 19. *l* and from 14. to 19. *ll* is frequent. In 19. mute letters have occasioned the following varieties: sera*gl*io, ma*hl*stick, *l*ace, Gui*ld*ford, a*le*, i*ll*, trave*ll*ed, ki*ln*, i*sle*, bris*tl*y, vict*uall*er (vɪt·lɪ).

('L 'l). In 16. certainly, this sound was expressed by final *-le* forming a syllable, and it was recognized by Bullokar after *a* and before another consonant, as ha*l*m (Ha'lm) where others read (ul). In 19. several phonetic writers incline to (*u*l), but the majority consider (l) only, to be the sound. Mr. M. Bell considers it to be (ll) that is lengthened (l). It is always represented by *-le* or *-l*. It generally falls into (*l*) when a vowel follows as *double doubling* (dəb'l dəb·l*i*q), but some persons retain the (') and say *double-ing* (dəb·'l*i*q).

(Lh lh). Not now a recognized English sound, but it occasionally arises when instead of prolonging an (*l*) with the full murmur, the action of the vocal ligaments ceases, while the tongue remains in position, and the unvocalized breath escapes on both sides as (fAallh). It is also recognized by Mr. M. Bell in *felt* (fɛlht) or perhaps (fɛllht), as he would write. In Modern French it is very common for (l') as (tablh) *table*, and hence it has been recently imported into the English pronunciation of

French words. It was probably the sound written *hl* in ags. and *lh* in 13., as it is now represented by *hl* in Icelandic.

(Lhh lhh). Few Englishmen can pronounce this Welsh sound properly, but as Welsh names of places are current in English, as *Ll*ang*oll*en (Lhhangolhh·en) it should be recognized, and not treated as (thl) or (tl), as in (Thlangoth·len). For a description of the sound see Chap. VIII, § 1, under *ll*.

(Lj, lj). An unrecognized English element, often generated in the passage from (l) to (ɹ) or (i) before another vowel. Thus *million*, *bullion* are rather (mil·ljən, bul·ljən) than pure (mil·ɹən, bul·ɹən) because there is no break, thus (l,ɹ), but the (l) is continued on to the (ɹ) producing (lj = l*ɹ). Some Englishmen pronounce *seraglio*, *lieu*, *lute*, as (seraa·ljo, ljiuu, ljiuut) others say (seraa·lio, luu, luut).

(M m). From ags. to 19. *m*, and from 14. often *mm*. In 19. we have the varieties, chiefly assimilations and degradations: dra*chm*, phle*gm*, psa*lm*, Cho*lmond*eley (Tshəm·li), a*m*, la*mb*, ta*me*, ha*mm*er, sha*mm*ed, hy*mn*, Ca*mpb*ell (Kæm·el), Ba*n*ff (Bæmf), Po*nte*fract (Pəm·fret).

('M 'm). Certainly from 16. when it was recognized by Bullokar. Not distinguished from (m) in writing, and not recognized as a syllable in poetry, as: schis*m*, rhyth*m* (siz·'m, rith·'m).

(Mh mh). Recognized by Mr. Melville Bell in 19. before *p*, *t*, as la*mp*, e*mp*t (læmhp, ɛmht) or (læmmhp, ɛmmht).

(N n). From ags. to 19. *n* and from 14. *nn*. Silent letters and assimilations, etc., have produced the 19. varieties: stu*dding*sail (stən·s'l), ope*n*ing, *gn*aw, Jo*hn*, *kn*ow, Co*ln*brook (K*oo*n·bru*k*), Ca*lne* (Kaan), *mn*emonies, co*mp*ter, ca*n*, riba*nd*, ca*ne*, ipecacua*nha*, ma*nn*er, pla*nn*ed, gu*nw*ale (gən·el), reaso*n*ing, *pn*eumatics, pui*sne* (piuu·ni).

('N 'n). Certainly since 16., represented by *-en*, *-on*, as in: ope*n*, reaso*n*. When a vowel follows the (') is lost, though some say (lait·'niq) and others (lait·niq) *lightening*, *lightning*.

(Nh nh). Recognized in 19. by Mr. M. Bell in *tent*, which he writes (tɛnht) or (tɛnnht).

(Nj nj). An unrecognized English sound produced by continuing the sound of (n) on to a following (ɹ, i) as *onion*, more properly (ən·njən) than (ən·,ɹən). Some call *new* (njiuu), others (nuu). Common French and Italian *gn*.

(O o). This seems to have been the original ags. and English short *o* up to 16., and to have been lost, except in the provinces, after the middle of 17. when it was replaced by (ʌ, ə). It is the French h*o*mmage (omazh) as distinguished from 19. h*o*mage (hom·ydzh). It is Italian short *o* aperto. It is also heard in Spain, Wales, and a great part of Germany, though it is liable to fall into (*o*) on one side and (ə) on the other. In old English invariably *o*.

(*O o*). This short sound in closed syllables is not recognised in 19., but it is heard the provinces and in America for short and sometimes long *o*; thus, *whole stone* (hol, ston), and then is scarcely distinguishable from (*u*) or (ə), and is confounded by some with (ə). In open syllables it is not uncommon, as in: *o*blige, mem*o*ry, win*dow* (*o*bləidzh·, mem*o*ri, wi*n*·d*o*), where it is often confused with (ə, u), and even, when final, with (ɹ). It, probably, came into use with (*oo*) in 17., but was not distinguished from it. Generally expressed by *o*, *ow*, as above, and in 19. we call *Pharaoh* (F*ee*x·ro).

(ɔ ə). In 17. short *o* passed from (o) to (ʌ) or (ə). The distinction between these sounds being of the same degree of delicacy as that between (i, *i*) and (ɛ, æ) renders it difficult to determine which sound was said. In 19. (ə) prevails, though (ʌ) is occasionally heard, and may be heard when the expression is *a*, *au*, or (a) influenced by (u) in any way. See (ʌ). The general expression of (ɔ) is *o*; but in 19. we have the varieties: *re*sin, *ho*nour, *o*n, gr*oa*t, fo*r*ehead, *co*gnisant, J*oh*n, h*ough*, pedag*ogue*, kn*ow*ledge. In *or* not followed by a vowel, the theoretical sound is (ɔɹ), the actual sound scarcely distinguishable from, if not identical with (ʌʌ', ʌʌ). See suprà p. 575, under *o*.

(Œ œ) is not a recognized English sound, but is heard in the provinces

and in Scotland, and written *o*, *oo*. Confused in English with (ə).

(ƷD œ). Recognized in 19. by Mr. M. Bell as the vowel in: pref*er*, *ea*rnest, f*ir*m, my*rr*h, gu*er*don, where he writes (œɹ) for the italicized letters. I do not distinguish these sounds from (ɹ), and in general find them confused with (ɹ). See these sounds.

(Œœ œœ). Occurs in the provinces, and probably in Scotch. It is the German long *oe*, as in *Goethe* (Gœœ·*te*).

(Oi oi). With this must be taken (ʌi, ɔi, *oi*; ʌ*i*, ɔ*i*, *oi*). It is very difficult to determine the limits of these sounds in time or place. Probably in 16. when *oi*, *oy* were not (ui), they were (oi). In 19. (ʌ*i*, ɔ*i*) prevail, (*oi*, ui) are provincial. The expression is always *oi*, *oy*, with or without some additional mute letters. In 19. we have: bourg*eois* (bɹdzhɔ*i*s·) n*oi*sy, n*oi*se, p*oi*gnant, c*oi*gne, b*oy*, enj*oy*ed, B*oy*le, q*uoi*t; some say (kwɔ*i*t), b*uoy*; some say (bw*ɔi*), buu*i*), b*uoy*ed.

(Oo oo). From ags. to 16. this was the recognized long sound of *o*, and expressed by *o*, *oo*. It is still heard in the provinces. It was apparently lost in the received dialect in 17., but revived in 19. before (ɹ), as in: *oa*r, *ore*, *o'er*, m*oo*r, m*ou*rn, p*ou*r, f*ou*r, s*wo*rd. Sometimes heard before *f*, *s*, *th*, as: *o*ff, cross, br*o*th (oof, croos, brooth), where it is apt to degenerate into (ʌʌ, ɔɔ), or sink into (ɔ).

(*Oo oo*), From 17. the recognized sound of *o* long, and generally represented by *o*, *o-e*, *oa*, and occasionally by *oe*, *ou*, *ow*. In 19. we have the varieties: h*au*teur, h*au*tboy (HOO·bɔi), b*eau*, y*eo*man, sh*ew*, now frequently written *show*, *sewed*, frequently written *sowed*, post, *oa*ts, provincially (wəts), S*oa*me, b*oa*tswain (boo·sən), C*ock*burn (Koo·bɹn), d*oe*, bo*ne*, *o*glio, *oh*, scut*oire* (skrutooɹ·), according to Sheridan, Walker, etc., now generally (skrutwɔɹ·), y*ol*k, br*oo*ch, apropos, Gr*os*v*e*nor, dep*ôt*, s*ou*l, rog*ue*, Y*ough*all (Joo·HAAl), th*ough*, kn*ow*, t*ow*ards, *owe*, Kn*ow*les, q*uo*th (kooth); some say (kwooth). See (*oou*).

(Ɔɔ ɔɔ). The drawl of short (ɔ) is only heard in drawling utterance, as (ɔɔd) for (ɔd) *odd*, as distinct from *awed*. Preachers often say (Gɔɔd), but seldom or ever (GAAd) for *God*. In America some say either (dɔɔg, lɔɔq), or (doog, looq) for *dog*, *long*, etc., which the phonetic writers there recognize as (dAAg, lAAq), and the two sounds are difficult to separate.

(OA oA). This present French nasal is in older English represented by (uun), as retained in our modern *balloon*. In recently imported French words the (oA) is intended to be retained, together with its French expression, as *bonbons*, *bon mot*, *on dit* (boAboAz, boA mo, oA dii). But the usual substitutes are (ɔn, ɔq), and occasionally (*oon*, ən).

(Oou oou). From 13. to 16. the pronunciation of those *ou*, *ow*, which represented an ags. *dw*, *ów*. Lost in 17.

(*Oou oou*). From 17. to 19. the usual pronunciation of those *ou*, *ow* which represent an ags. *dw*, *ów*. This pronunciation has been, however, generally ignored, or, if recognized, reprobated by orthoepists. Some speakers distinguish *no*, *know*, as (n*oo*, n*oou*), orthoepists generally confuse them as (n*oo*), compare the list of words under (*oo*); others again confuse them as (n*oou*). Mr. M. Bell states that every long *o* is (*ou*), meaning the same as I mean by (*oou*). Some Englishmen say that it is not possible to lengthen (*o*) without adding (u), and pronounce nearly (*ou*, *ouu*).

(Ou ou). In 16. the general sound of *ou*, replacing the previous (uu) which however was heard contemporaneously through the greater part of 16. In 17. the sound was recognized as (əu), and the sound (ou) was lost.

(*Ou ou*). The modern provincial substitute for (ou), not recognized.

(ƆU ɔu). In 18. orthoepists recognized *ow* as having the sound (ou) or (AU). It was probably an erroneous analysis, which even yet occasionally prevails, owing to the usual orthography *ou*, *ow*. Provincially however (ɔu, AU) may occur.

(P p) was from ags. to 19. represented by *p*, and from 14. to 19. by *pp* also. In 19. we have the varieties, hiccou*gh* (HIK·kəp); *p*ay, a*pe*, Cla*ph*am, fla*pp*er, fla*pp*ed.

(Q q) was from ags. to 19. written *n* or *ng*, sometimes *nz* for nʒ. In 19. we have the varieties: fi*n*ger, ha*nd*kerchief, si*n*ger, wi*ng*ed, Birmi*ngh*am, to*ngue*, Me*nz*ies (Meq·iz), p. 310.

(Qh qh), is recognized by Mr. M. Bell in 19. as the sound of *n* before *k*, in *think* (thíqhk) or thíqqhk)

(R r) was from ags. to 19. represented by *r* before a vowel; and probably from ags to 16. represented also by *r* even when not before a vowel. Perhaps lost in the latter position in 17. Preserved pure in Scotland. In 19. we have the varieties: *r*ight, *rh*etoric, *wr*ite, hu*rr*y, cata*rrh*al.

('R 'r) How soon this sound came into English, cannot be precisely determined. There is reason to think it may have been used in 16. and 17., and that it generated (ɹ). At present in: fea*r*ing, pai*r*ing, deba*rr*ing, igno*r*ing, poo*r*er, fie*r*y, bo*w*ery, there is a doubt whether the sound heard is best expressed by ('r) or (.ɹr). Mr. M. Bell gives the first, I have generally preferred the second, see p. 197.

(*R r*). This peculiar guttural *r* so common in France and even in Germany, but unknown in Italy, seems to be only a softer form of the Northumbrian burr. It is not recognized in writing as distinct from r.

(ɹ ɹ). Probably recognized in 17. as well as in 18. and 19. as the peculiar English untrilled *r*, not heard before a vowel, and represented by final *r* together with mute letters in 19., as: spa*r*e, co*rp*s, bu*rr*, mo*rt*gage. It has always a tendency to change preceding (*ee*, *oo*, uu) into (ee, oo, *uu*), while short *a*, *o* become (aa, ɔɔ), or theoretically (a, ɔ); and short (*i*, e) according to Mr. M. Bell fall into (ɔ), which see. Short (ə) is supposed to remain, as *cur* (kəɹ), for which I prefer (kɹ, k'ɹ, kɹɹ) and generally write (kɹ) as quite sufficient. In place of (ɹ) provincially (əhɹ, əɹ, *a*hɹ) are heard. The physiological distinction between (ɹ) and (ɹ) is very difficult to formulate. There is no doubt that in many cases where writers put *er*, *ur*, to imitate provincial utterances, there neither exists nor ever existed any sound of (r) or of (ɹ), but the sounds are purely (ə, ɹ). Thus *bellows* in Norfolk is not (bel·erz) but rather (bɹl·ɹz). There also exists a great tendency among all uneducated speakers to introduce an (r) after any (ə, ɹ, a, ʌ) sound when a vowel follows, as (drʌʌ·ríq, sʌʌ·ríq) *drawing*, *sawing*, in Norfolk, and this probably assisted in the delusion that they said (drʌʌɹ mi, sʌʌɹ wud) and not (drʌʌ mii, sʌʌ wud). In London: father farther, laud lord, stalk stork, draws drawers, are reduced to (faadh·ʊ, lʌʌd, stʌʌk, drʌʌz), even in the mouths of educated speakers. I have usually written (ɹ) final in deference to opinion, but I feel sure that if I had been noting down an unwritten dialectic form, I should frequently write (ʊ, ə, ɹ). Careful speakers say (faa'dh·ʊ, lʌʌ'd, stʌʌ'k, drʌʌ'z) for *farther*, *lord*, *stork*, *drawers*, when they are thinking particularly of what they are saying, but (far·dher, lord, stork, drʌʌ·erz) is decidedly un-English, and has a Scotch or Irish twang with it. See p. 196.

(ɹ ʌ). I use this (ʌ) to represent the sound expressed by Mr. M. Bell as (ɔɹ), see (ɔ). Thus, *myrrh*, *differ* =(mʌ, difʌ·). But I do not find (ɹ, ʌ) generally distinguished, and consequently write (mɹ, difɹ·) more frequently than (mʌ, difʌ·). The physiological distinction between (ɔ) and (ʌ) is very difficult to formulate. See (ɹ), and p. 196.

(.R .r). This strongly trilled (r) is only known as an individual or local peculiarity. In Scotland the trilled (r) not before vowels, as *firm* (ferm) often gives rise to a sensation of (.r), as (fe.rm), and many Scots and Irish use (.r) as *work*, *arm* = (wə.rk, æ.rm). It is not recognized orthographically.

(Rh rh) is not now a recognized English sound, but is occasionally imported from the modern French final *-re*, as *sabre* (sabrh) for (sabrə), into the modern English pronunciation of anglicised French. Probably ags. *hr*, as it is Icelandic *hr*. The Welsh *rh* is rather ('rʜ) than (rh), as generally supposed.

(S s). From ags. to 19. commonly represented by *s*. Rapp imagines the ags. sound to have been (sj). In 14. (s) was represented *s*, *ss*, and by *c* before *e*, *i* in words taken from the French, and occasionally by *sc* before *e*, *i*. In 19. we have the varieties: *c*ell, a*c*e, Glou*c*ester, *ps*alm, Ci*r*en*c*ester (Si*s*·istɹ), Wo*rc*ester (Wu*st*·ɹ), *s*ee, *sc*ene, coale*sc*e, *sch*ism, Ma*sh*am, hi*ss*, hi*ss*ed, li*st*en, epi*st*le, etc., since 17., mi*st*ress (mi*s*·iz), *sw*ord, bri*tzs*ka (bri*s*·ka), bello*ws*, mezzotint.

(Sh sh). This was not an ags. sound, but it was already developed in 13., and it was generally written *sch*, but sometimes *sh*, *ss*, in 13. and 14. Orrmin writes *sh*, *ssh*, and this was used at the end of 15., and generally afterwards. At the latter end of 17. (sh) was expressed by *s* before (iu), so that *siu* became (shuu). Traces of this found in the early part of 17. Towards end of 17. also expressed by *ci-*, *si-*, *sci-*, *ssi-*, *ti-*. In 19. we have the varieties: *ch*aise, and frequently in French words, fu*ch*sia, spe*c*ial, *psh*aw! *s*ugar, *sch*edule, con*sc*ious, *sh*all, wi*sh*ed, A*ssh*eton (Æsh·tən), compre*ss*ion, mo*ti*on.

(T t). From ags. to 19. the regular expression is *t*. In 19., however, we have the varieties: de*bt*, ya*cht*, indi*ct*, suck*ed*, sou*ght*, *phth*isical, recei*pt*, *t*oe, *th*yme, ha*tt*er, *t*wo, mezzotint.

(Th th) was in use from ags. to 19. In ags. it was written either þ or ð, or both indifferently. In 13. and 14. it was sometimes ð, but generally þ, and occasionally *th*, which last expression has remained to 19. In 17. in si*gh* it was written *gh*, and probably in other words. In 19. we have the varieties: Kei*gh*ley (Kiith·li), eigh*th* (*ee*tth), apo*phthe*gm (æp·o·them), Sou*th*ampton (Səuthhæm·tən), *th*in, bli*the* (bləith), or (bləidh) Ma*tth*ew.

(Tj tj). An unrecognized English sound, generated by the action of a following (iu), when the speaker avoids the stiffness of (t,ɹ), and wishes also to avoid (tsh), as: vir*tu*e, lec*tu*re (vɹ·tju, lek·tjuɹ), commonly (vɹ·tshu, lek·tshɹ). See (dj).

(Tsh tsh) was generated, at least, as early as 13. from ags. (*k*), and written *ch*, and in 14. also *cch*. The form *ch* has remained, but since 16. at least *cch* has become *tch*, very common as a final in 19., in which some importations and assimilations have produced the varieties: verm*i*celli, *ch*ain, ar*ch*ed, *chi*oppine, Mar*jori*banks (Maɹtsh·bæqks), ma*tch*, ma*tch*ed.

(T*w* *tw*). An unrecognized English sound, usually confounded with (tw), but it is (t*w) the action of (t) and (w) taking place simultaneously, and not successively, in *tw*ine, *tw*ain, etc. Written *tw*.

(U u). It is probable that (*u*) was used in 16. at least, and perhaps earlier, but it is not easy to distinguish (u, *u*) as short sounds before 19., and even then few persons acknowledge that p*oo*l, p*u*ll, have vowels of different quality, as well as length (puul, pul), and that the true short sound (u) is heard in French *poule* (pul). Mr. M. Bell considers that the Scotch and English pronunciation of *book* differ as (buk, buk). To my ears the Scotch have preserved also the original length of the vowel, and say (buuk), or at least give it a medial length. Hence, taking (u, *u*) together, we may say that the sound has existed and been expressed by *u* from ags. to 19. In 14. it was also expressed by *ou*, *ow*, and the expression *ou* was continued in a few words in 16., and is not yet quite lost as *could* (kud). In 16. (u, *u*) was occasionally expressed by *oo*, still common in *wood*, *book* (wud, buk). In 14. and thence to 16., *o* was often used for (u, *u*), and is still found in a few words. During 17. most of the words having (u, *u*) lost the sound, and were pronounced generally with (ə). There is still a fight between (*u*, ə), and in some of the Midland Counties the usage is just reversed from that now accepted, thus (b*u*t, k*u*t, r*u*b) = *but*, *cut*, *rub*, and (fət, pət, fəl, bəl) = *foot*, *put*, *full*, *bull*. And generally (wod, wəm·ən) are not uncommon for (wud wum·ən) = *wood*, *woman*. The key to this mystery seems to be a provincial (ə) which becomes labialised after labial consonants. In the pronunciation of the Peak of Derbyshire, I have found it very difficult to choose between (ə, *o*, *uh*, *u*) for such words. See below Chap. XI., § 4. In 19. we have the varieties: w*o*man, Bolingbr*o*ke, w*oo*d, w*or*sted, W*or*cester, caoutch*ou*c, c*ou*ld, b*u*ll.

(*U u*). See (u).

(:U u). This unrecognized English sound seems to occur as a variant of (y) in Cumberland, Lancashire, and East Anglia, and is written as long *u*.

(Ui ui). Apparently one of the oldest forms of the diphthong *oi*, *oy*, probably the usual sound in 14., when it was also written *ui*, *uy*. Still used in many words in 16. and even 17. In the provinces it may be still heard in *boy* (bui), and it is the sailor's pronunciation of *buoy*.

(Uu uu). In ags. written *ú*, in 13. *u*, of which this is a characteristic orthography. Between 1280 and 1310 both *u* and *ou* were used. In 14. *ou*, *ow* were generally written, but *o* alone was also employed, and has remained in many words. In 16. *ow* was quite discontinued, and *ou* sparingly used, but *oo* was introduced as the usual form, and has remained to the present day. How soon the (iu) of 17. became (uu) after *r* is not ascertained, but it is now the rule (except in the provinces), that long *u* after *r* = (uu). Hence in 19. we have the varieties: gall*eo*n, R*eu*ben, Bucc*leu*gh (Bəkluu·), br*ew*, br*ewed*, r*heu*m, r*hu*barb, d*o*, sh*oe*, m*ove*, man*œuv*re, t*oo*, w*ooed*, s*oup*, b*ouse* (buuz), thr*ough*, Br*ough*am, rendez*vous* (rəndevuu·), surt*out* (sɪtuu·), billetd*oux* (bɪ́lɪduu·), C*ow*per, tr*ue*, r*u*ling, r*ule*, br*ui*sing, br*uise*, H*u*lm*e* (Huum), t*wo*, *who* (huu).

(:Uu uu). A provincial variety of (yy), expressed only as long *u*.

(V v). In ags. possibly and Orrmin (v) was expressed by *f* between two vowels, otherwise it would seem not to be an ags. sound. In 13. (v) was expressed by *u* consonant and *v* consonant, and so through to 17. when *v* consonant was exclusively applied, and *u* consonant and *v* vowel discontinued; but it was seldom represented by any but a *v* form afterwards. In 19. we have: o*f*, Bel*v*oir (Bii·vɪ), ha*lve*, ne*ph*ew, Gro*sv*enor (Groov·nɪ), *v*eal, ha*ve*, rendez*v*ous.

(W w). Apparently a peculiar ags. sound, and hence expressed by a peculiar letter *ƿ* when the Roman alphabet of the time was adopted, p. 513. For this in 13. *w* was adopted, and has remained to 19. The sound was sometimes expressed by *u*, but *persuade* was often written *perswade*. In 19. we have: ch*oi*r (kwəɪɹ), the labial modification assumed as (w), see (kw), pers*u*ade, *w*ar. In the word *one* the initial (w), which is not written at all, dates probably from the latter part of 17.

(Ꝡ ui). Defective trill of the lips substituted for a trill of the tongue, not recognized except as a defect, and then written *w*, but "Lord Dundreary" distinguishes (fuend) from (fwend), which last he indignantly declared he did *not* say for *friend*.

(Wh wh) was probably expressed in ags. by *hw*, and was the *wh* of 13. to 19. It is still distinctly pronounced by most northern and careful southern speakers, but is rapidly disappearing in London.

(Y y). This was probably the sound of ags. *y*, and possibly of short *u* in 13. It is very doubtful whether this short sound has been used at all since 13. It seems to have been replaced by (*i*, e). It probably occurs, either in this or the cognate forms (u, ɪ) in the provinces, and is recognized in Scotland.

(*Y y*). According to Mr. M. Bell this is the indistinct sound only used in unaccented syllables in English, and written *e* in: hous*e*s, good*n*ess (hauz·yz, gud·nys), etc., where orthoepists are doubtful whether it is (*i*) or (e). He also identifies it with the Welsh *u*, *y* having a similar sound. Not generally recognized, and not provided with any distinct form.

(Yi yi). The French *ui* was confused with (w*ii*) in 16. It is kept in some recent words as *suite*, though persons ignorant of French say (swiit).

(Yy yy) was probably written long *y* in ags. This sound seems to have disappeared in 13., or at any rate its traces are uncertain. In 14. it revived with the introduced French words, and was written *u*, *eu*. It remained into 17. written *u*, *eu*, *ew*, when it was still recognized by Wallis, although his contemporary Wilkins seems to have been unable to pronounce it, and it was subsequently replaced by (iu). It is, however, still common in East Anglia, in Devonshire, in Lancashire, and probably other parts of England, and in Scotland, where it appears as a substitute for (uu), as was already the case in 16. The provincial sounds vary as (ɪɪ, uu, əə, yy).

(Z z). Not recognized as distinct from (s) in ags. but probably existing always, as in 14. it was not unfrequently written *z*. It has, however, been generally confused with *s*, except in a few words from the Greek. The sound seems to have remained with few exceptions in the same positions from 14. to 19. In 19. we have: sacrifi*c*ing, sacrifi*ce*, which some pronounce as a substantive with

(s) and as a verb with (z), *czar*, Win*ds*or (Win·zɹ), Sa*lis*bury (SAAlz·beri), a*s*, di*s*cern, ea*se*, di*sh*onour, bu*si*ness, sci*ss*ors, Ke*sw*ick (kezik), he bello*ws*, beaux, *z*eal, *size*, whiz*z*ing, whi*zz*ed.

(Zh zh). Hart 1569 recognized this sound in French but not in English. Its earliest recognition in English is by Miège 1688, who being a Frenchman distinguished it from (sh) with which it was long confused. It is derived generally from (zi) and hence is generally spelled *s*, *z* except in some recent words, where the Modern French sound is employed. In 19. we have: rou*g*ing, rou*ge*, *j*eu de mots, which Worcester writes (zhuu·di*m*oo·) in place of Féline's (zhœ d-m*o*), plea*s*ure, divi*s*ion, absci*ss*ion, a*z*ure.

(ʻ) When a mute (p, t, k) ends a word, and a pause follows, as the contact is loosened, a slight breath escapes, not marked in writing, but very apparent in (kæpʻ, bætʻ, bækʻ). This was probably always used in English, and its absence, which renders the consonant difficult to be heard, was probably the occasion of the suppression of such final consonants in French.

(ʼ) If a sonant (b, d, g) end a word, many speakers force out a faint murmuring sound after removing the contact, as (ebʼ, ædʼ, bægʼ) *ebb*, *add*, *bagg*, similar to the French indication of their *e muet* in such a place. In some speakers this amounts to adding (ɐ), and then it is recognized in satirical orthography by writing *a* as *ebba*, *adda*, *bagga*.

(g). The cluck indicated by *tut*.

(ʎ). The cluck indicated by *cl'ck*.

(·) The primary accent which has never been indicated in English orthography.

(:) The secondary accent, which has never been indicated in English orthography.

§ 3. *Historical Phonetic Spelling.*

The great multiplicity of forms for the same sound, joined to the existing variety of sounds for the same form,[1] shewn in the preceding sections, has urged many persons to attempt correcting both by one stroke, as a matter of literature and science, and still more with a view to education and uniformity of pronunciation, and with a hope of making our language more easy to acquire by foreigners. The device has generally consisted either in the introduction of new letters, or in giving constant values to known combinations, so that the same sound should be always represented by the same letters and conversely. In the XII th or XIII th century we had Orrmin, in the XVI th Smith, Hart, Bullokar; in the XVII th Gill, Butler, Wilkins; in the XVIII th, Franklin and many others after him in the same and in the XIX th century both in England and America. The most persistent attempt is the phonotypy which grew out of Mr. Isaac Pitman's phonography or phonetic shorthand, and which in various forms

[1] The strange fantastical variety of our orthography, when viewed solely from the phonetic point of view, could not fail to attract Shakspere's attention. Hence he makes Benedick speak thus of the love-sick Claudio: "He was wont to speake plaine, & to the purpose (like an honest man & a souldier) and now is he turn'd orthography, his words are a very fantasticall banquet, iust so many strange dishes." Much Ado, ii. 3, speech 5, fo. 1623, p. 107, col. 2.

has been regularly used in printed periodicals from 1843 to the present day.[1] Such schemes are different from those which aim at a universal alphabet for the purposes of science or missionary enterprize, such as the alphabets of Max Müller, Lepsius, Merkel, Melville Bell, and the palaeotype used in this volume. And neither have the slightest connection with the scheme of a universal language, or with any view of altering our language in any way, although they have been often confounded with such impossibilities.

After reviewing the two preceding sections the question naturally arises: *is it possible from the general, firmly established English uses, to construct a system of orthography which should represent our pronunciation at the present day?* If such a spelling were possible it would clearly be so suggestive that it would be legible to the mere English reader almost without instruction. It seems possible, and at least worth the trial, for numerous instances occur in which it is advisable to attempt indicating sounds to purely English readers by combinations of the letters with which they are familiar. It is also only by exhibiting such a tentative orthography that the possibility of altering our spelling so as to more or less indicate our pronunciation, but without altering our alphabet, could be properly considered. The following scheme is based upon the two preceding tables, and will be termed GLOSSOTYPE, as suggested on p. 13, from its main use in compiling provincial glossaries.

In the phonetic alphabet used by Mr. I. Pitman and myself, only 34 simple sounds, 4 vowel diphthongs, and 2 consonant diphthongs, were represented, giving a total of 40 letters in the following order: (ii, *ee*, aa, AA, *oo*, uu; *i*, e, æ, ɔ, ə, *u*; əi, ɔi, əu, iu; J W H; p b t d tsh dzh k g, f v th dh s z sh zh, r l m n q). The numerous texts which have been printed in this alphabet have shown that it suffices for printing our pronunciation with sufficient accuracy to satisfy such ears as have not been sharpened by a phonetic education. We may, therefore, commence our investigations by determining the best representatives of these sounds.

From the XVI th century *ee*, *oo* represent (ii, uu) with certainty, from the XVII th *ai*, *au* represent (*ee*, AA) with almost, but not

[1] The writer of this treatise was much connected with this last scheme from 1843 to 1849, and in 1848-9 published two editions of the Testament, many books, and a weekly newspaper, the *Phonetic News*, in the alphabet settled by Mr. I. Pitman and himself in 1846, which differs in many respects from that now used by Mr. I. Pitman. If an alphabet differing entirely from the Roman is to be used, and none other can be expected to find favour for all languages, the principles upon which Mr. Melville Bell's various alphabets of Visible Speech, for printing, long and short hand writing, are formed, seem to be the best hitherto proposed.

quite, the same certainty. But there is no usual way of representing (*oo*). The combinations *oe*, *oa* are so unfrequent that they would occasion hesitation in unusual positions, as: *hoep*, *hoap*, for *hope*. Symbols for (aa) have disappeared since the XVII th century. The two exclamations *oh! ah!* present the only combinations to which no other value seems to have been assigned; but the combinations *oh*, *ah*, are scarcely used in other words. We have then *ee*, *ai*, *ah*, *au*, *oh*, *oo*, as the only certain representatives of the six long vowels (ii, *ee*, aa, AA, *oo*, uu).

The short vowels (*i*, *e*) have been uniformly represented by *i*, *e* from the earliest times, and it would be impossible to obviate the ambiguity of their also representing (əi, ii) in accented syllables, without pursuing Orrmin's plan and doubling the following consonant, when it is one of possible initial combination; thus, *vibrait* would suggest (vəi·br*ee*t), rather than (v*ib*·r*ee*t), which would require *vibbrait* for certainty, and this notation may be adopted at the pleasure of the writer. From the XVII th century *a*, *o*, *u* have been in like manner the constant representatives of (æ, ɔ, ə), although they would also require duplication of the following consonant to preserve them from the ambiguity of (*ee*, *oo*, iu), as: *fammin*, *notting*, *fussi* = famine, knotting, fussy, compared with: famous, noting, fusee = *faimus*, *nohting*, *fiwzee*, or *fyoozee*. The last short vowel sound (*u*) occasions great difficulty. In fact it is not recognised generally as distinct from (uu), except in such rare pairs, as *fool full*, *pool pull*. As *oo*, *u* have already been appropriated, and as *ou*, employed for this sound in *would*, *could*, *should*, would inevitably suggest the sound (əu) in other situations, we are driven to some modification of *oo*, *u*. The form *uh* is not English, and has been frequently used conventionally for (əə), so that it is excluded. The exclamation *pooh!* although dictionary makers seem only to recognize the orthography *pugh*, is yet sufficiently familiar in the other spelling to all readers,[1] and suggests the form *ooh* for the sound of (*u*). It is certainly long, but it is known, and could only mislead so far as to cause the reader to substitute (uu) for (*u*). The six short vowels are, therefore, *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *ooh*.

Of the only recognised forms for diphthongs: *oy*, *ow*, *ew* = (ɔi, əu, iu), as in *boy*, *now*, *new*, the first is unobjectionable, but the other two do not begin with the elements represented by *o*, *e*, (ɔ, e). The common diphthong (əi) has no representative distinct from *i*, *y*, which are already appropriated. For writing provincial dialects a careful separation of the various diphthongal forms is important. Hence a systematic mode of representing diphthongs is indispensable, and it must be founded upon the historical use of *y*, *w*, as the second element, which involves the rejection of such final forms as *ay*, *aw*, for the sounds already symbolised by *ai*, *au*. By simply prefixing any of the vowels *ee*, *ai*, *ah*, *au*, *oh*, *oo*, *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *ooh*, to *y*, *w*, we obtain most suggestive forms

[1] As in Prof. Max Müller's *pooh-pooh theory* of the origin of words, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, i, 344.

of diphthongs, containing those vowels run on to a final *ee*, *oo*, typified by the *y*, *w*. Thus: *aiy* (*ee*i) is the usual English m*ay*,—*ahy* (aai), *aye*, or German *ai*,—*auy* (AAi), a broad sound of j*oy*,—*ohy* (*oo*i), a provincial sound of b*oy*,—*ooy* (uui), the Italian l*ui*, and common sailors' b*uoy*,—*ey* (ei), the Scotch b*ite*,—*ay* (æi), a Cockney long *i*,—*oy* (ɔi) the usual b*oy*,—*uy* (əi) the usual b*uy*, G*uy*;—*eew* (iiu) an exaggerated Italian *iu*,—*aiw* (*ee*u), an exaggerated Italian *eu*,—*ahw* (au), the German *au*,—*auw*, a broad provincial *how*,—*ohw* (*oo*u) the common English kn*ow*;—*iw* (*i*u) the American and, perhaps, the common English n*ew*, for which both Wallis and Price (p. 139) used the sign *iw*,—*ew* (eu) the true Italian *eu*,—*aw* (æu) the Norfolk p*ou*nd,—*ow* (ɔu) a provincial *ow*,—*uw* (əu) the common English *now*. The use of *y*, *w* being only a systematisation of an old extinct method of writing diphthongs may be fairly regarded as historical, and gives great power to this system of writing.

The sounds of (J, W, H) must be represented by *y*, *w*, *h*, having no other historic equivalents. But as *y*, *w* have been already used for diphthongs, and *h* is a modifying symbol in *ah*, *oh*, *ooh*, in which sense it must also be employed amongst the consonant combinations, whenever *y*, *w*, *h* occur in such situations as would occasion ambiguity, the recognized expedient of inserting a hyphen, as *ai-y*, *oh-w*, *o-h*, must be resorted to. The sound of (wh) must be represented by the historical symbol *wh*, instead of the anglosaxon *hw*, which is now uncouth.

The consonants and consonantal diphthongs must be *p b*, *t d*, *ch j*,[1] *k g*, *f v*, *th dh*, *s z*, *sh zh*, *r l m n ng*, for although *dh*, *zh* are unhistorical, they have long been generally recognised as orthoepical symbols. To these it seems best to add the historical *nk* for the unhistorical *ngk* (qk); but *ngg* must be used for (qg) to prevent ambiguity, as in *singer*, *fingger*. Hyphens must be employed in *t-h*, *d-h*, *s-h*, *z-h*, *n-g*, *n-k*, when each letter represents a separate element. All truly doubled consonants must also be hyphened, as *boohk-kais*, bookcase, distinct from *boohkking*, booking, and *un-ohnd*, unowned, from *un-nohn*, unknown.

The practical writing alphabet of the English language will therefore consist of 42 symbols, which may be fairly called "historical," namely: *ee*, *ai*, *ah*, *au*, *oh*, *oo*; *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *ooh*; *uy*, *oy*, *uw*, *iw*; *y*, *w wh*, *h*; *p b*, *t d*, *ch j*, *k g*; *f v*, *th dh*, *s z*, *sh zh*, *r l*, *m n ng nk*. But the use of this alphabet would soon point out deficiencies, for example *air*, *ohr*, are no adequate representatives of the words: air, oar. The indistinct murmur which forms the conclusion of these words as generally pronounced may be written ('), as the historical representative of an omitted found, and the full theoretical sound may be indicated by *'r*. This

[1] As these letters are really contractions for *tsh dzh*, when they are doubled to shew that the preceding vowel is short, it is natural to double only the first element, and write *tch*, *dj*, meaning *ttsh*, *ddzh*. But it is not allowable to write *tth*, *ddh*, *ssh*, *zzh* for *thth*, *dhdh*, *shsh*, *zhzh* (although in older English *ssh* is often used for *shsh*), because *tth* represents a really different sound, thus *Matthiw* would be (Mæt·thiu) not (Mæth·iu,) and *aitth* = (*ee*tth), eighth.

full sound is always heard if another vowel follows, as *hee'ring*, *poh'ring*, *poo'rer*, *fuy'ri*, *luw'ring*=hearing, pouring, poorer, fiery, lowering. Such sounds as *her*, *cur*, as distinct from *her*ring, oc*cur*rence, require a means of representing the fully trilled *r* after a vowel, as common in Scotland and Ireland, and the examples chosen suggests the expedient commonly employed of writing *rr*, so that *herd* or *he'rd* is English, and *herrd* is Scotch 'heard.' The *vowels* in "air, oar, her" however, as distinct from those in "hale, hole, herring," have not yet been represented, and several other signs will be found indispensable in writing those dialectic sounds which are here of prime importance.

Now, on examining the long and short vowels, *ee i*, *ai e*, *ah a*, *au o*, *oh u*, *oo ooh* = (ii *i*, *ee* e, aa æ, AA ɔ, *oo* ə, uu *u*), it is readily seen that they are more distinct in quality, than in quantity. In fact Englishmen find the true short sounds of the long vowels, and the true long sounds of the short vowels difficult to distinguish from the long and short sounds respectively. This suggests the employment of the quantitative signs (¯) and (˘), when prominence is to be given to the quantity, the unmarked sign being regarded as doubtful, just as in Latin, Italian, Spanish, Welsh, and generally. Thus *ĕen* is Scotch, *ēen* Yorkshire for the plural of 'eye'; *wăit* or *waiyt* is English, *wăit* Scotch, *stŏhn* is Norfolk and American "stone," *bŏok* is Scotch, *bŏohk* southern English, *bōok* northern English, "book," *Bāth* is the local, *Bāhth* the usual pronunciation of "Bath," and the true sound of "air" is perhaps *ē'r*, for which *ai'r* is practically sufficient, and the true sound of *oar* is very nearly, but not quite *ō'r*. Another way of representing the quantity is the thoroughly English method introduced by Orrmin, to which we have already found it convenient to have occasional recourse, namely, to allow a single following consonant to indicate the length, and two following consonants the brevity, of the preceding vowel, open vowels remaining ambiguous. Thus the preceding examples may be written in order: *eenn een*, *wait waitt*, *stohnn*, *bookk*, *boohkk*, *book*, *Bath*, *Bahth*, the short sounds of the two last becoming *Bathth*, *Bahthth*. Other methods of representing quantity in connection with accent will be given presently.

Any one who tried to write down provincial or foreign sounds would still find considerable deficiencies. The following sixteen additional vowel signs are, however, all that it seems expedient to admit, the principle of ambiguous quantity applying as before.

For ordinary purposes, use:—

eh=(E), for the broader sound of *e* verging into *a*, heard in Scotland, and generally in the north of England in place of (e), French *bête*, Italian open *e*. This may also be taken as the sound of *ai* in *air*, which may be written *ehr*.

oa=(o), for true sound of *oa* in *oa'r* = oar, known provincially even when not followed by *r*, a broad sound of *oh* verging to *au*, Italian open *o*.

ui=(y), for Scotch *ui*, French *u*, German *ü*, being *ee* or rather *i* pronounced with rounded lips.

eu=(ø), for close French *eu*, which has two sounds, close as in *jeune*, and open as in *jeûne*=(ø, œ), not ordinarily distinguished by Englishmen; the first is *ai*, the second *e* or *eh*, pronounced with rounded lips.

N=(ʌ), to represent French nasality when it occurs, as in *enfant*, *vin*, *bon*, *un*, which might be written *aNfaN*, *oN*, *boN*, *uN*.

kh, *gh*=(kh, gh), for the Scotch and German guttural *ch*, but (*k*h) may, when desired, be distinguished as *yh*, and (k*w*h, g*w*h) may be written *kwh*, *gwh*.

lh=(lhh) for the common Welch *ll*.

rr=(.r) for the strongly trilled Scotch *r* not preceding a vowel, as *herrd*.

rh=(grh) or (*r*) for the French, German, and Northumbrian so called *r grasseyé*, guttural *r* or burr.

For still more accurate dialectic writing, use:

ae=(ah) for the fine southern *ah* verging to *a*.

aa=(*aa*) for a deeper sound of *ah*.

ao=(*a*h) for the broad Scotch *ah* verging to *au*.

uh=(ɤ), for that deeper sound of *u* which it is necessary to distinguish in the provincial diphthongs *uhy*, *uhw* (ɤi, ɤu), if not elsewhere.

ua=(ɒ), for a still deeper sound of *u*, occasionally heard.

uo=(*u*h) for the *ooh* verging to *oh*, or the *oh* verging to *oo*, heard in many provincial dialects, the true Italian close *o*.

ih, *ue*=(ɪ, ʊ) for the sound of *ui* verging to *ee* or *oo* respectively, as heard dialectically in English, German, and French, *ih* being a frequent form of the German *ü*, and *ue* being the Swedish *u*.

oe=(œ), for the true German *ö*, and open sound of French *eu*, described under *eu* above.

ë or *ə*=(ɔɔ), for the sound of *u* in "cur," or *e* in *herd*, which may be written *kër*, *hërd*, (or *kər hərd*, if the type *ë* is deficient,) when it is considered necessary to distinguish them from *kur*, *herd*.

ä or *ɒ*=(ɒ), for that frequent obscure unaccented *a* found in c*a*nary, re*a*l, ten*a*nt, which may be written *känehri*, *reeäl*, *tennänt*, (or if the type *ä* is deficient, *kɒnehri*, *reeɒl*, *tenuant*), when it is thought necessary to distinguish it from *a* or *u*.

ï or *ɨ*=(*y*) for the obscure sound of *e* good*n*ess, which would be written *goohdnïss*, (or, if the type *ï* is deficient, *goohdnɨss*,) when it was thought necessary to distinguish it from *e*.

By thus adding from 4 to 12 vowels to the original 12, only 8 unusual, or obscure vowels, out of the 36 recognized in Palaeotype, viz., back (æ), *mid* (ɤ, əh, *o*h, oh, ɔh) and *front* (ə̈h, æh), are left without signs, and these probably do not occur in any provincial English dialectic pronunciation, but might, in case of necessity, be represented by *ö*; *ü*, *ëh*, *uoh*, *oah*, *aoh*; *euh*, *oeh*, respectively, the first two on account of their partial resemblance to the German *ö*, *ü*, and the others on account of their being liable to be confused with the sounds already represented by *ë*, *uo*, *oa*, *ao*, *eu*, *oe*, respectively.

The sixteen additional vowel signs are therefore *ä*, *aa*, *ae*, *ao*, *ë*, *eh*, *eu*, *ï*, *ih*, *oa*, *oe*, *ua*, *ue*, *uh*, *ui*, *uo*, and although they are chiefly

unhistorical, they are so suggestive that they could be readily fixed on the memory. Compare *aesk ăent*=ask aunt, in southern English, *ask ant* in fine Yorkshire; *il el* English, *el ĕhl* Scotch= ill ell; *măon* Scotch = man, *unku gēud shēun* Scotch = unco guid shoon; *nōa dōa'nt gōa* Norfolk=no don't go; *Gōete bŏekke* German = Goethe böcke, *mūen* Devonshire =moon, *lĕn* Cockney = learn, *pūir bŏhdi* Scotch = puir body.

The system of diphthongs may now be completed by using the 16 additional vowels as prefixed to *y*, *w*; and also by using all the 28 vowels as prefixes to (') and to *ui*. The (') diphthongs are not uncommon provincially, the *ui* diphthongs are rare, but are found in Germany and the Netherlands. The easy method thus furnished for representing complicated diphthongal sounds, which are so frequently met with in provincial utterances, is one of the greatest recommendations for glossotype as a means of writing English dialects.

Any mode of marking the position of the accent is unhistorical, but it is so important in unknown words, as all written in Glossotype must be considered, that the Spanish custom of marking its position, when not furnished by some simple rule, is well worthy of imitation.[1] This rule for English has been laid down thus by Mr. Melville Bell: The accent is to be read on the first syllable, unless otherwise expressed.[2]

The accent mark on an ambiguous vowel or diphthong will be the *acute* on the first portion of the symbol, as *reedéem*, *obtáin*. The accent mark on a short vowel will be the *grave*, and on a long vowel the circumflex, thus combining the notes of quantity and accent, as: *deemàhnd*, *deemâhnd*. When the accent falls on more than one syllable, it should always be written, as: *húywái*=highway, *óonàhbzâibâhre* = unabschbare, German. The evenness of French accent had also best be noted in this way for English readers, as *áNfáN* = *enfant*, or otherwise an exception to the rule must be made for French words only, which would then have to be specially named. The small number of accented letters supplied to English founts renders it advisable to have a substitute for these accent marks, and the turned period used in palaeotype will be found most convenient. A device familiar to writers of pronouncing dictionaries will enable us to indicate the long vowel by placing

[1] This language seems to be the only one, except Greek, in which the necessity of marking the position of the accent has been acknowledged. In Portuguese, Italian, English, and Russian, the position of the accent is a constant source of difficulty to foreigners. The Spanish Academy in its anxiety to avoid many accent marks, and its desire to prevent ambiguity, lays down *five* rather lengthy rules for placing the accent mark, which are generally adopted by Spanish printers, whether they are so by writers I cannot say. When I printed phonetically I carried out a similar system, but the value of it was not sufficiently appreciated, for few or no persons used accents in writing, and Mr. Isaac Pitman, and almost all other phonetic printers, have utterly ignored accents, at least for all native words. Mr. Melville Bell has however consistently carried out his one simple rule, which is here recommended to Glossotypists.

[2] Visible Speech for the Million, p. 6.

the turned period immediately after it, as *reesee·d*, and the short vowel by placing it after the following consonant, as *empir·ik*. This principle may be applied to monosyllables, thus readily distinguishing: Yorkshire *boo·k*, Scotch *book·*, English *boohk·*, without having to double the following consonant. The principle may also be applied to shew the length of the first element of diphthongs, so that the true English "may know," may be written *mâiy nôhw*, or *mai·y noh·w*, while *bàiyd*, *nòaw* or *baiy·d noaw·* would indicate (b*e*id nou), which are the Teviotdale pronunciation of "bide, knoll."

Great care has been bestowed upon this system of writing from a belief that it is not a philosophical toy or a plaything, but may prove extensively useful to writers of pronouncing vocabularies, to provincial glossarists, to travellers forming word lists, to writers of Scotch novels, and authors of provincial poems and tales, all of whom at present introduce more or less unsystematic, ambiguous, or unintelligible orthographies.[1] It will be employed, therefore, for the representation of dialectic English and Scotch in Chap. XI. § 4. Except for the closest scientific purposes, for which palaeotype, or some system as extensive, is requisite, Glossotype as here presented, will be found sufficient.[2]

The practical use of this system of writing[3] has suggested some improvements in the tabular arrangement, and the preliminary table on p. 16, must therefore be considered as cancelled and replaced by those on pp. 614-5. In the first of these, the simplest form of Glossotype, which may be fairly termed historical phonetic spelling, is presented, containing only two of the additional vowels, *eu*, *ui*, without which no dialects could be even approximatively written, In the second, these two and the other fourteen are briefly explained, some vowel progressions are introduced which may assist the reader in forming a conception of the sounds, and the exact value of the 28 glossotype vowels, the diphthongs and consonants is fixed by a comparison with palaeotype.

[1] In Mr. Peacock's Glossaries (Transactions of the Philological Society, 1867, Supplement Part II.) a partially systematic method of writing is adopted, explained in the annexed Essay on Some Leading Characteristics of the Dialects, etc., p. 11 note; but on endeavouring to transliterate the specimens of the North and South Lonsdale dialects there given (pp. 31, 32) into glossotype, I found several combinations and signs employed which had not been previously explained, and which I had simply to guess at. Yet Mr. Peacock's writing is a gem compared to most which I have met with, for they generally leave me in a state of utter bewilderment. Few writers even condescend to give a key at all, and in Mr. Peacock's Glossaries, the editor has not considered it necessary to prefix a key conspicuously, but has left it hidden in a footnote to an appended essay, as if it were of no consequence, instead of being of prime importance. One consequence of this to myself was, that I did not discover the key till I had with great difficulty, and much uncertainty, made one for myself by examining the whole glossary. To form a system of writing requires peculiar studies. The present glossotype is the result of much thought and experience extending over a great length of time, combined with long practice in phonetic writing.

[2] Oriental signs can easily be borrowed from palaeotype, or supplied by other conventions.

[3] The information from my dialectic correspondents (p. 277 note 1) was chiefly collected by means of Glossotype.

KEY TO GLOSSOTYPE.

Especially intended for writing dialectic English according to literary English analogies. Isolated letters and words in Glossotype should be in Italics. No letter or combination is ever mute; thus, final *e* is always pronounced as in German. Never use *ay*, *aw*, etc., for *ai*, *au*, etc., even when final. *C.* Cockney, *D.* Dutch, *E.* English, *F.* French, *G.* German, *I.* Italian, *P.* Provincial, *S.* Scotch, *W.* Welsh.

VOWELS.

a *gnat*	i *knit*
ah *father*	o *not*
ai *wait*	oh *rose*
au *all*	oo *wooed*
e *net*	ooh *wood*
ee *meet*	u *nut*
eu *F. eu*	ui *F. u*

(') *an indistinct murmur.*

(‚) *nasalized utterance.*

N *F. nasal n* is written *ŋ*

Obscure vowels are double dotted in *hër reeäl goohdnïs*, for which turned letters may be used if types run short, as: hər reeəl goohdnıs

All vowel signs are ambiguous, short or long, and may have their quantity distinguished when desired, by a single or double following consonant, by the signs of quantity (¯ ˘), or (^ ˇ), or a turned period (·) placed immediately after a long vowel and after the consonants following a short vowel, as, Yorkshire *book bōok bȯok* or *boo·k*, *S. bookk bŏok bȯok* or *book·*, *E. boohkk bŏohk bȯohk* or *boohk·*, *E. noh·w* = know, Teviotdale *noaw·* = knoll.

When accents are not marked by (') for ambiguous vowels, or (^ ˇ ·) for long and short vowels as above, the accent must be placed in reading on the first syllable of a word.

DIPHTHONGS.

ay *S. P. C.*	aw *P. C.*
ahy *G. ai*	ahw *G. au*
aiy *may*	aiw *C.*
ey *S. bite*	ew *I. eu*
euy *F. œil*	euw *D.*
.....	iw *mew*
oy *boy*	ow *P.*
ohy *P.*	ohw *know*
ooy *I.F.P.*	.....
uy *high*	uw *how*
uiy *F. ui*	.....

In all these diphthongs the first element has the sound assigned in the preceding column, which is run on quickly, with a glide, to a following *ee* or *oo* written *y* or *w*. Numerous other diphthongs can be formed on the same model.

Diphthongs may also be formed by affixing (') as *roh'd* almost *rohȧd rohud* = road, and by affixing *ui*, as *D. heuuis* = huis, but it is generally sufficient to treat this *ui* as *y*, thus: *heuys*.

In the rare cases when any of the above combinations do not form single vowels or diphthongs, introduce a hyphen, as *ah-yónt* = ayont *S.* Observe that the *w* and *y* of the consonants *wh*, *yh*, never belong the preceding vowel.

CONSONANTS.

b *bee*	ngg *finger*
ch *chest*	nk *think*
d *doe*	ny *I. gn*
dh *the*	p *pea*
f *fee*	r *ray*
g *go*	'r *air*
gh *D.G. g*	rr *I.S. r*
h *he*	rh *P.F. r*
j *jay*	s *see*
k *coo*	sh *she*
kw *queen*	t *tin*
kwh *S. quh*	th *thin*
kh *G. ach*	v *vale*
l *lo*	w *wail*
lh *W. ll*	wh *why*
ly *I. gl*	y *yet*
m *me*	yh *S. nicht*
n *no*	z *zeal*
ng *thing*	zh *vision*

Foreign and Oriental sounds must be represented by small capitals, &c., by special convention.

Really doubled consonants should be separated by a hyphen, as *un-nóhn* = unknown.

When any of the above combinations do not form single letters introduce a hyphen, as *mad-huws*, *Bog-hed*, *Makhéeth*, *in-grdin*, *in-kum*, *mis-hdp*, *pot-huws*, etc.

EXPLANATION OF THE ADDITIONAL AND FOREIGN VOWELS.

ä obscure *a* in *real*, *cristal*.
aa deeper sound of *ah*, in *G.* and *F.*
ae between *a* and *ah*, fine southern *E. a* in *staff*, *ask*, *path*, *pass*, *command*.
ao between *ah* and *au*, broad *S. a* in *man*.
ë the obscure sound of *e* in *herd*, when it can be distinguished from *e* or *u*.
eh between *e* and *a*, broad northern *E.* and *S. e*, *I.* open *e*, *F. è*.
eu produced by pronouncing *ai* with rounded lips, *F.* close *eu* in *jeune*.
ï obscure *i* or *e* in *goodness*.
ih resembling *ui* verging towards *ee*, *P. G. ü*
oa as heard in *oar*, between *o* and *oh*, *P. E.* broad *o*, *I.* open *o*.
oe produced by pronouncing *e* or *eh* with rounded lips, *F.* open *eu* in *jeûne*, *G. ö*.
ua very deep sound of western *E. u*.
ue resembling *ui*, verging towards *oo*, Swedish *u*.
uh deeper and broader sound of *u*, general in *P. E.* and *S.*
ui produced by pronouncing *ee* or *i* with rounded lips, *S. ui*, *D. F. u*, *G. ü*.
uo between *oh* and *oo*, a broader *ooh*, *I.* close *o* in *somma*, Edinburgh *coal*.

VOWEL PROGRESSIONS, arranged to shew approximatively how the (italic) sixteen additional and foreign vowels lie between the (roman) twelve usual English sounds.

1. *palatal to guttural*: ee i ai e *eh* a *ae* ah
2. *guttural to labial*: ah *aa* *ao* au o *oa* oh *uo* ooh oo.
3. *labial to palatal*: 1) oo *ue* *ui* *ih* ee; 2) oh *oe* *eu* ai
4. *deep to high, obscure*: *ua* *uh* u *ä* *ë* *ï*.

GLOSSOTYPE COMPARED WITH PALAEOTYPE.

When more than one palaeotypic symbol is placed after a single vowel, the first represents the sound that would be naturally given to it by an English reader, and the two may be distinguished, when required, as previously explained. Glossotype in *Italics*, Palaeotype in ( ). The arrangement is partially systematic.

VOWELS.		DIPHTHONGS.		CONSONANTS.	
Historical.	*Additional.*	*Y series.*	*W series.*	*Pairs.*	*Single.*
ee (ii i)	*ï* (*y*)	*aiy* (*ee*i *e*i)	*aiw* (*ee*u *e*u)	*p b* (p b)	*h* (H H')
ai (*ee e*)	*eh* (E EE)	*ehy* (EI)	*ehw* (EU)	*t d* (t d)	*rh* (grh *r*)
	ae (ah aah)	*aey* (ahi)	*aew* (ahw)	*k g* (k g)	*r* (r)
ah (aa a)	*aa* (*aa a*)	*ahy* (ai aai)	*ahw* (au aau)	*ky gy* (kj gj)	*'r* (ɹr)
au (AA A)	*ao* (ah *aah*)	*aay* (*ai aai*)	*aaw* (*au*)	*kw gw* (kw gw)	*rr* (.r)
oh (*oo o*)	*oa* (oo o)	*ohy* (*oo*i *o*i)	*ohw* (*oo*u *o*u)		*lh* (lhh)
oo (uu u)	*ue* (UU U)	*ooy* (uui ui)		*wh w* (wh w)	*l* (l)
	ui (yy y)	*uiy* (yi)	*uiw* (yu)	*f v* (f v)	*'l* ('l)
i (*i ii*)	*ih* (II I)		*iw* (iu JU)	*th dh* (th dh)	*ly* (lj)
e (e ee)	*eu* (*əə ə*)	*ey* (ei)	*ew* (eu)	*s z* (s z)	*m* (m)
	oe (œœ œ)	*euy* (*ə*i œi)	*euw* (*ə*u œu)	*sh zh* (sh zh)	*'m* ('m)
a (æ ææ)	*ä* (ɐ)	*ay* (æi)	*aw* (æu)	*ch j* (tsh dzh)	*n* (n)
o (ɔ ɔɔ)	*ë* (œœ œ)	*oy* (ɔi)	*ow* (ɔu)	*yh y* (JH *kh* J)	*'n* ('n)
u (ə əə)	*uh* (ɜ ɜɜ)	*uy* (əi)	*uw* (əu)	*kh gh* (kh gh)	*ny* (nj)
	ua (ɐɐ)	*uhy* (ɜi)	*uhw* (ɜu)	*kwh gwh* (kwh gwh)	*ng* (q)
ooh (*u uu*)	*uo* (*uh uuh*)				*nk* (qk)

Murmur ' (') FRENCH NASALS—*an en on un* (aa ea oa əa).

The eight omitted palaeotypic vowels may, when required, be indicated by writing—

	ö;	*ü*,	*ëh*,	*uoh*,	*oah*,	*aoh*;	*euh*	*oeh*
for	*œ*;	Y,	əh,	*o*h	oh,	ɔh;	*ə*h,	æh

The historical spelling from which Glossotype has been evolved, is, of course, not proposed for immediate adoption in literature, although there is no historical or etymological reason against its use. In order to shew the effect of adopting such an orthography in place of that now current, I have annexed the glossotypic spelling of some lists of words already given in the previous section on the pages referred to in each case, in which the reader will find the solution of their orthographical riddles. As these lists contain the principal anomalies of spelling in our language, the absurdity of propagating them will appear strongly in reading over their sounds, without having the orthography immediately present to the eye. The historical letters only are used, hence the unaccented vowels, and some shades of sound are not discriminated with perfect accuracy, and the intention has been rather to endeavour to give the letters which an average speller, acquainted with the ordinary orthography, would select when intending to write his own pronunciation glossotypically, than to aim at orthoepical accuracy, as the appearance which would be presented if such a style of spelling were adopted, could not otherwise be imitated. For this reason duplicated consonants, are freely admitted, when they would be likely to suggest themselves to the writer, but are not used systematically, and only the ambiguous accent (′) is employed. The order of the sounds is that given in the last paragraph of p. 609.

ee, p. 599. miníwshiee, deeméen, Keez Kolledj, bee, eech, fleed, leev, Beechum, leeg, feet, een, kompleet, aleev, impréen, Lee, konséet, konséev, seenyuri, Lee, reeséet, Beevur, peep'l, deeméen, kee, Weemz, keed, duyaréea, invaléed, greef, maggazéen, greev, seenyur, fiwzée, debrée, intréeg, feetus, kee, keed, muskéetoh, turkéez.

ei, p. 596. mait, shampâin, dailia, pain, kampâin, strait, trai, haipeni hahpeni, jail, Kâishâut'n, gaij, plaig, plai, grait, ai! vail, rain, wai, dhai, ait.

aA, p. 593. fahdhur, ahr, seráhlyoh, ah, ahmz, Mahmzberi, aiklâh, ahnt, bahrk, klahrk, hahrt, gahrd.

au, p. 593. faul, aum, Maudlen Kolledj, maulstik, wauk, baumun, haul, Maud, nauti, Vaun, aun, auful, au, braud, sauder, aut, ekstráudineri, Jaurjik, Jaurj, faurk, haurs.

oA, p. 602. hohtúr, hohboy, boh, yohman, shoh, sohd, pohst, ohts wuts, Sohm, bohs'n, kohburn, doh, bohn, ohlyoh, oh, skrootóhr skrootwáur, yohk brohch, aprohpóh, Grohvnur, deepóh dappoh, sohl, rohg, Yoh-haul, dhoh, noh, tohrdz, oh, Nohlz, kohth, kwohth.

oo, p. 605. galóon, Rooben, Buklóo, broo, breed, room, roohahrb, doo, shoo, moov, manóover, too, wood, soop, booz, throo, Broom, rondevóo, surtóo, billidóo, Kooper, rooling, troo, rool, brooz-ing, brooz, Hoom, too, hoo.

i, p. 599. lanskip, Sinjun, Jahrvis, pritti, ginniz, biffin, britchiz, forfit, Tibbuld, huzzif, egzíbit, rith'm, pit, marrijiz, marrij, pittid, too liv, siv, fippens, wimmin, grits, Jahrvis, Missis, bizzi, lettis, bild, biznis, Tirrit, Chizzik, fizzik, Windum, Rothsi, munni, Anni, Biwli, felli, shammi, plaigi.

e, p. 595. menni, Pomfret, Pestum, Muykel, Temz, sed, Abbergeni, sez, let, hed, det, Wenzdi, alédj, forred, heffer, Lester, lepperd, chek, rondevóo, retturik, frend, konshens, fettid, konesúr, berri, ges, pannijérrik, gunnel, Tommasez, saiber, verchoo, Berlingtun, saffer, better, Urkert, ahnser—*or* saibur, vurchoo, Burlingtun, saffur, bettur, Urkurt, ahnsur.

a, p. 593. sat, Uyzak, Makki, dram, hav, banvoh, Tammun, plad, sammun, haráng, Klappam, Talmash, pikánt.

o, p. 601. rozzin, onnur, on, grot, forred, konnisant konnis'nt, Jon, hok, peddagog, nolledj.

u, p. 596. ribbun, meershum, eskútchun, umb'l, mohshun, konshus, sun, dus, luv, tortus, Linkun, flud, dub'l,

tung, bellus, tuppens, amatúr, kubburd, avvurdiwpóyz, kurnel, likúr, likkur.

ooh, p. 604. woohmman, Boohllingbroohk, woohd, woohstid, Woohstur, kuwchoohk, koohd, boohl.

uy, p. 597. nuyv, uyl, duypnóssohfist, huyt, uying, uy, ruynóseros, Ruyn, ruyming, ruym, buynd, indúyt, duy, luyv, suyn, suy, suyd, vuykuwnt, uyl, beegúyling, beegúyl, buy, fluy, duy, suydh.

oy, p. 602. burjóys, noyzi, noyz, poynant, koyn, boy, enjóyd, Boyl, koyt kwoyt, boy bwoy booy, boyd booyd.

uw, p. 597. kuwchouk, Maklúwd, uwr, kuwnter, nuwn, duwt, reenúwns, buw, kuw, alúwd.

iw, p. 599. monniwment, inkiwbait, manchiwmaikar, biwti, fiwd, fiwdal, diws, Liwsun, niw, ahdíw, viw, viwd, fiwg'lmun, amiwzing, fiwshia, kiw, amíwz, kiw, impíwn, biwl, siwt, piwni, liwstring, fiwg, iwnúyt, Iwjéen, iw, iw, iw, iwl, iw íwth, *or* yoo yooth, hiwmáin, hiwman, hiw, Hiw, Hiwz.

y, p. 600. hidyus, unyun, halilóoyah, yahrd, Denyil.

w, p. 605. kwuyr, purswâid, waur, wun.

wh, p. 605. when.

h, p. 598. Kala-han, hohl, Kohhóon, hohl.

p, p. 602. hikkup, pai, aip, Klappam, flapper, flapt.

b, p. 594. bee, eb, ebd, baib, Kohburn, Hohburn, kubburd, hohboy.

t, p. 604. det, yot, indúyt, sukt, saut, tizzikal, reeseét, toh, tuym, hatter, too, metsohtint.

d, p. 594. dellium, deep, ad, Boohddist, traid, Windum, luvd, woohd, burd'n.

ch, p. 604. vairmichélli, chain, ahrcht, chopéen, Mahrchbanks, match, matcht.

j, p. 595. Grinnidj, sohljur, judjment, ridj, Wedjberi, jem, kolledj, Bellinjam, just.

k, p. 600. kan, akúwnt, Bakkanal, skool, aik, bak, hakt, akwâint, hok, kail, baik, wauk, kwak, kee, antéek, Urkurt, vuykuwnt, hak'l, eksépt.

g, p. 598. blaggahrd, goh, eg, begd, gohst, ges, plaig.

f, p. 597. foh, fuyf, stif. stuft, fiwg'lman, of'n, lahf, hahf, saffer, lefténant.

v, p. 605. ov, Beevur, hahv, nevviw, Grohvnur, veel, hav, rondevóo.

th, p. 604. Keethli, aitth, apohthem, Suwth-hámtun, thin, bluyth, bluydh, Mathiw.

dh, p. 595. dhee, breedh.

s, p. 603, sel, ais, Gloster Glauster, sahm, Sissister, Woohstur, see, seen, kohalés, siz'm, Massam, hiss, hist, lis'n epís'l, missis, sohrd, briska, bellus, metsohtint.

z, p. 605. sakrifuyzing, sakrifuyz, zahr, Winzur, Saulzberi, az, dizérn, eez, dizónnur, biznis, sizzerz, Kezzik, hee bellohz, bohz, zeel, suyz, whízzing, whizd.

sh, p. 604. shaiz, fiwshia, speshal, shau, shoohgger, sheddiwl, konshus, shal, wisht, Ashtun, kompréshun, mohshun.

zh, p. 606. roozhing, roozh, zhóodimóh, plezhur, divízhun, absízhun, aizhur.

r, p. 603. (r), ruyt, retturik, ruyt, hurri, katárral, ('r,ır) fee'ring, pai'ring debáhring, ignóh'ring, poo'rer, fuy'ri, buw'ri, (ı) spai'r, kaur koh'r, bur, maurgaij, (ı) mur, deefúr, *or* mer deefér.

l, p. 600. seráhlyoh, maulstik, lais, Gilfurd, ail, il, travveld, kil, uyl, brisli, vitler.

m, p. 601. dram, flem, sahm, Chumli, am, lam, taim, hammer, shamd, him, kammel, Bamf, Pomfret, siz'm, rith'm.

n, p. 601. stuns'l, ohpning, nau, Jon, noh, Kohnbroohk, Kahn, neemónniks, kuwntur, kan, ribbun, kain, ippikakkiwánna, mannur, lpand, gunnel, reezning niwmáttiks, piwni, ohp'n, reez'n.

ng, p. 602. fingger, singer, wingd, Bermingam, tung, Mingiz—hank, hankerchif, link, drunk, ankshus.

Some readers will naturally object to such orthography that it is entirely fictitious and not in any respect historical. It is not meant to imply that the above spelling was ever used at any time, but only that almost every combination of which each word is composed has been in use for such a long time, generally more than two centuries, that its employment in the sense proposed is really historically justified. But how should we spell? What other grounds of spelling are there but the phonetic? There are the purely historical, the etymological, the typographical. The purely historical, however,

such as was adopted by the Anglosaxons, and by the best writers in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, was also purely phonetic, reflecting the pronunciation of the writer to the best of his ability. We might adopt that systematised scheme of the XIVth century explained above (p. 401), and illustrated in the next chapter, but we should find it extremely difficult to make any one but an Early English student see the value of it, and perhaps even he might demur to fixing the time at so recent a period, the latest during which the principle of phonetic spelling actually influenced the writer. But I know no other period which would in any respect answer the purpose. With regard to the words introduced since then, we should have to consider how they would have been probably pronounced at that time, and write them accordingly. The rehabilitation of our orthography on that ground would therefore be a work of extreme difficulty, and would find a correspondingly small number of adherents. Even those who employed it would have to re-memorize every word in the language, a discipline to which none would submit who could escape it. The attempt to introduce such a system could therefore only result in confusion worse confounded. We may adopt it for our XIVth century schoolbooks, but we must not ask writers to use it in their everyday scribbling.

Dismissing, therefore, any purely historical system, we have only to consider the etymological, and the typographical, which will occupy the two next sections, while the phonetic ground will be considered in the last section.

§ 4. *Etymological Spelling.*

The two tables in §§ 1, 2 may serve to dissipate the phantom which haunts many brains under the name of etymological orthography. It seems that the gross departure from the original phonetic conception which pervades our alphabetic system, and which degrades alphabetical to hieroglyphical writing, has led persons to suppose that the phonetically useless and inconsistently applied letters, which they have constantly to employ, are intended to convey to the reader the history and origin of a word, whence it came, how it changed, what was its original meaning, and how that has been modified. It is true that the recent etymological labours of Wedgewood and E. Müller, might be sufficient to prove that such information could not be conveyed by any means, because it is in many cases unknown now, and was less known to those who have modelled our orthography, and also that when it is known, or tolerably certain, there is no generally understood abbreviated system for conveying the information, which often requires a considerable amount of words to explain, nor does i appear possible to conceive that any such system could be invented, much less brought into use. These matters do not strike those who are possessed with the etymological conception, for they are

generally very ill informed respecting the real history of our language, and think rather of the recent terms borrowed from the Latin and Greek, which present no difficulty whatever, and could scarcely be made to present much difficulty by any freak of orthography,[1] than of the old terms of Germanic, or Norman French origin, or those, not rare words, in constant use, of which the origin is unknown. Many of the troublesome additional letters, which were perhaps inserted from a supposed knowledge of the origin of a word, are mistakes, few of them are of any assistance, and none of them are consistently employed.

To take a simple example: those who know that *oak* corresponds to ags. *ác*, may be inclined to think that the *k* was put in to show it was Germanic, and not Latinic or Hellenic, whereas we know that the introduction of *k* was a mere habit of the XIII th and XIV th centuries; or that the inserted *a* was meant to allude to the old *a*, while the prefixed *o* shewed the modern change; whereas, we know that the XIV th century wrote simply *ok*, *ook*, that in the XV th, and the greater part of the XVI th century, *oke* was employed (this is the orthography of Palsgrave and Levins), and that the *a* was introduced towards the latter end of the XVI th century as a mere phonetic contrivance to distinguish (*oo*) from (uu), and without any etymological reason whatever. It so happens that we still write *stroke*, nothwithstanding the ags. *stracan*. There was a long fight between *sope*, *soap*, and it is not to be supposed that *a* was carried by Latin *sapo*. It is but very lately that *cloak* triumphed over *cloke*; but there can be no etymological reason, because no one is certain of the etymology, and the middle Latin *clocca*, generally adduced, would not favour the *a*.

Take another simple instance, which, like the former, applies to numerous cases: In the word *name*, the final *e* is supposed to allude to a former final vowel, and to indicate the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The ags. had a final *a*, but the preceding vowel was short. The *a* had become long in Orrmin's time, and he wrote *name* because he said (naa·me), and *not* (nam·a), which he would have written *namma*, and similarly he changed all the other vowels to accord with his own pronunciation. The meaning of the added *e* was lost in XV th century, and in the XVI th it was frequently, but of course inconsistently, used to indicate vowel length, and in this case the length of (aa) as (naam). It was not from a wish to preserve the *a* etymologically that it was not changed to *naim* in the XVII th century, but it was because *ai* became settled as (ee) before *name* ceased to be (nææm), so that there was a difference in sound felt nearly up to the time when our orthography crystallized in the XVIII th century. Should not we suppose *same* to give us similar information. It would be wrong if it did, for though Orrmin has an adjective *same*, there is no ags. adjective *sama*, but only an ags. adverb *same*.

[1] Italian: ipoteca, ipotesi, ipofisi, ipofora, filosofo, fisonomia, geroglifico, epitaffio, epitalamio, etc., present no more difficulty than our *bishop*, and not so much as our *church*.

The reason usually given for wishing to retain the *u* in spelling *honour*, *favour*, *errour* is the French orthography *-eur*, on the plea that this orthography discriminates those words which were taken from the French from those where taken direct from the Latin. It is certainly not obvious that this discrimination is worth any trouble, or that any one could determine to which class every word ending in *-or* or *-our* really belongs. Nevertheless this etymological reason has been frequently advanced, and was especially insisted on by the late Archdeacon C. J. Hare.[1] Our investigations, however, shew that the reason given is altogether fanciful and destitute of any foundation of historical truth. These words were spelled *-our*, in the XIV th century, because they were pronounced (*-uur*), for the same reason that *þu nu* became *thou now*. Moreover *honour* could not have been derived from *honneur*, because that French form did not exist when the English *honour* was adopted. The French used *honor*, *honur*, *honour*. The mutation of Latin *o* into French *eu* did not take place till a later period.[2] If indeed the French had used *eu*, which they would have pronounced (eu) or (ey), there is no doubt that Chaucer who used the sound (eu) and wrote it *eu* or *ew*, would have also written *honeur*. We see then that *honur* has more claim than either *honor* or *honour* if we go to the old French; though *honour* asserts its right as old English, and just as *honos* was old Latin. But such squabbles are trifling. The historical spelling of § 3, would decide in favour of *onur* or *onnur*, which no orthographer has proposed, although every orthoepist would be scandalized at the pronunciation of the "etymological" *h*.

"Trouth and honour, fredom and curtesie,"

writes the Harl. MS. 7334, v. 46. What do we gain, either phonetically or etymologically by writing,

Truth and honor, freedom and courtesy.

Etymologically, *trouth* agrees better with ags. *treowþe*, *fredom* with ags. *freodom*, *curtesie* with old French *curtesie* (Roquefort).[3] The spellings *true*, *truth*, are certainly etymologically inferior to the discarded *trewe*, *trouth*, which represented the proper sounds of the time, and we ought, on the same principle now, to write *troo*, *trooth*. The termination *-y*, used for the threefold termination, *-e*, *-ie*, *-y*, the last being a contraction for *-iy* = *iȝ*, is a gross violation of all supposed principles of etymological spelling. It is evident that those who shaped our spelling had little or no knowledge of etymology, had no acquaintance with the customs of our ancient orthography, which many even yet regard as a chaos without law, or custom, and, except in very rare and very obvious instances, paid no attention whatever to historical affiliation, or ancient etymology.

[1] On English Orthography, Cambridge Philological Museum, vol. 1.

[2] Diez, after citing *feu jew*, *heure*, *pleure*, etc., adds "in allen diesen Fällen kennt die alte Sprache auch das einfache *o*," Gram. der Rom. Spr. 2nd ed. 1856. vol. i. p. 426.

[3] The XIV th century orthography of this word is especially considered in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning.

The first thing which we have to do in studying a new language for comparative philology, is to determine its sounds, and only in so far as the orthography enables us to determine the sounds, is it of any etymological value. Any deviation from phonetic representation is an impediment in the way of etymology. And the only true etymological spelling which can be conceived is one that is strictly phonetic. The investigation which we have just concluded, by enabling us to restore from the changing orthography the changing sounds, that is, the changing words of our language, puts us in a far better position than ever to determine the etymological relations. We still want a similar investigation for French, at least, and for all our dialects, as well as that principal southern form which alone offered sufficient facilities for examination. All the labour and trouble of such an examination would have been saved if the writers had had a sufficient alphabet from the first, and had known how to use it. But, unfortunately, the true conditions of alphabetic writing have only just been determined, and the number of those who can use correctly even such an approximation as is furnished by the forty-two historical phonetic symbols of the last section is very small. No one has ever dreamed of writing provincial dialects etymologically. It was felt that by so doing the whole means of representing them was lost; for, until they were written their etymology could not be determined. It was forgotten that our own particular cultivated English language, is but the most fortunate among many dialects, that, therefore, *its* etymology, also, could not be determined till it was fixed by phonetic writing, and that, consequently, for etymological purposes we should endeavour to represent it on paper as accurately as the generality can appreciate it. Other reasons there are in abundance. But on the ground of philology alone, we can truly say, there is no etymology without phonetics.

§ 5. *On Standard, or Typographical Spelling.*

It is possible to write a language without any relation to phonetics. The greater part of the Chinese vocabulary is said to be of this nature. One system of writing is prevalent throughout a vast empire, is understood by each province, and is provided by each with a different set of corresponding vocables. At Pekin they cannot understand the speech of Canton, but the writing is mutually intelligible. It is like the cyphers of arithmetic, or the signs of algebra, and the diagrams of geometry, which are read in different tongues, but with the same apprehension of their meaning throughout Europe. This ideal has great fascination for many. Conceive a grand symboleum, known everywhere, and yet read by each in his own tongue. Such a conception has been nearly carried out in England, Germany, France, and Italy, and probably in other countries. A fixed system of spelling has been, either by aca-

demical authority, or through the action of printers, accepted in each country. No two men in England and Germany, at any rate, pronounce in the same manner every word which they would write alike. In Germany completely diverse systems of utterance are pursued among the educated in different districts. The high German, as distinguished from all and every of these systems, is known as "die *Schriftsprache*, d. h. als diejenige Sprache in der man Deutch *schreibt*."[1] It is a *literary*, not a spoken language, and in Saxony, in Prussia, on the Rhine, on the Danube, by the Vistula, and the Eider, or in Switzerland, the language changes to the ear.[2] The peasantry of Saxony are taught to write High German; their spoken *Upper* German dialect tries a foreigner sorely.

In the same way we have a literary language in England, a written language, having only a remote connection with the spoken tongue, and shaped by printers as an instrument intended to satisfy the eye. Indeed the great objection to any innovation is its "odd appearance." And persons naturally conceive that to change the spelling is to alter the language. We have succeeded in getting this orthography to be recognised, and there are probably many who look upon it as an institution as unalterable and natural as the musical scale (which, by-the-bye, differs materially in different countries, and is thoroughly artificial in its origin), and regard any unwitting deviation from it as unfitting a person for the commonest occupation,[3] and excluding him altogether from the ranks of the educated, and yet the only "good (!) spellers" in the country are compositors and printers' readers. A reference to the tables in the two first sections of this chapter should dissipate all idea of fixedness, every notion of a sacred character in our orthography. It is barely a hundred years old, to give it the longest life. Two hundred, three hundred, five hundred years ago our spelling was entirely different. The same letters were used, but differently collocated, for what only standard orthographers could look upon as the same word. Notwithstanding this, a standard orthography is not only a possibility, but an actuality,[4] and as long as it is accompanied by its indispensable adjunct — a pronouncing dictionary—it will cease to be detrimental to the philologer, who can resort to the phonetic representation for what he requires. But it should remain fixed to be of value. However much the language may hereafter vary, this crystallized form should remain. No change of any kind, or from any cause should be permitted.

[1] "The language of writing, *i.e.*, that language in which we *write* German," as distinguished from *speaking* German. *K. F. Becker*, Schulgrammatik der deutschen Sprache, 3rd ed. 1835, § 23.

[2] This is still more striking, I am informed by natives, in the Arabic language. The written symbols and the literary language are the same from Morocco to Persia, the native dialectic pronunciations are mutually unintelligible.

[3] "Correctness in Spelling," that is, habitual use of typographical custom, is essential to those who intend to pass any Civil Service examination.

[4] The slight variations and uncertainties pointed out on p. 590, note, may be entirely disregarded for present purposes.

Otherwise to the enormous practical evils of an orthography which has no connection with sound, which helps no one to read and no one to spell, will be added the last straw of uncertainty.

For my own part I do not see the value of a standard orthography, but I do see the value of an orthography which reflects the pronunciation of the writer. Our present standard orthography is simply typographical; but in that word lies a world of meaning. It is a tyrant in possession. It has an army of compositors who live by it, an army of pedagogues who teach by it, an army of officials who swear by it and denounce any deviation as treason, an army, yea a vast host, who having painfully learned it as children, cling to it as adults, in dread of having to go through the awful process once more, and care not for sacrificing their children to that Moloch, through whose fires themselves had to pass, and which ignorance makes the countersign of respectability. Accepting this fact, I have arranged all my vocabularies according to this typographical spelling, simply because it will be familiar to all who read this book, and they will, therefore, by its means most readily discover what they require.[1] But I cannot do so without recording my own conviction, the result of more than a quarter of a century's study, that our present standard typographical spelling is a monstrous misshapen changeling, a standing disgrace to our literature.

[1] For the same reason in any dictionary, whether of ancient or modern English, which is published before a general revision of our orthography is effected (the Greek Kalends?), I recommend an arrangement of the words *according to the orthography in most general use at the time of publication*, because the intention of such an arrangement is to find out a word with facility, and the most generally used orthography is necessarily the one best known. No individual systems such as Webster's, or that proposed by Mr. E. Jones (p. 590, note), or peculiarities, such as Mitford's *iland*, Milton's *rime*, Johnson's *musick*, which are not found in one book or newspaper in ten thousand, should be adopted. Where there is a concurrent use, do as Minshew did (suprà, p. 104), give all spellings, the *explanations* under the one thought to be *most usual* (to the exclusion of all caprice, individual preference, and pet theories of correctness) and *cross references* under the others. To search a dictionary of any extent is penance enough. The searcher can't afford to have his labour increased. Would not a beginner in Anglosaxon be driven mad by the arrangement in Ettmüller's Dictionary, to which no index even is appended? I have often regretted the precious time it has cost me. In Dr. Stratman's excellent Dictionary of the Old English Language "the words are entered in alphabetical order, under their *oldest* form, for example *âwen ôwen* under *âȝen*, *êfen*, *even* under *æfen*; *ivel*, *evel* under *uvel*, etc." The consequence is the waste of hours. Such a dictionary should have the chief article, as in Coleridge's Glossary, under the *most usual* existent form, as best known, and cross references under *all* the old forms, as being unknown. Individual Glossaries must of course follow the *exact orthography* of the books which they index, but even here cross references may refer to the chief article under the *usual* orthography. Great advantage would accrue in comparing all forms of words in all books by some such arrangement as this. Where the field is so vast and the multiplicity of detail so immeasurable, those patriotic individuals who give us the result of their labours should do their best to render them *quickly* accessible. The increased *bulk* of any glossary or dictionary is utterly unimportant, as compared with the saving of time to its consulter.

§ 6. *On Standard Pronunciation.*

For at least a century, since Buchanan published his "Essay towards establishing a *standard* for an *elegant* and uniform pronunciation of the English language *throughout the British dominions*, as practised by the *most learned* and *polite* speakers," in 1766, and probably for many years previously, there prevailed, and apparently there still prevails, a belief that it is possible to erect a standard of pronunciation which should be acknowledged and followed throughout the countries where English is spoken as a native tongue, and that in fact that standard already exists, and is the norm unconsciously followed by persons who, by rank or education, have most right to establish the custom of speech.

One after another, for the last century, we have had labourers in the field. Buchanan, 1766, was a Scotchman, and his dialect clung to him; Sheridan, 1780, was an Irishman, and Johnson, from the first, ridiculed the idea of an Irishman teaching Englishmen to speak.[1] Sheridan was an actor, so was Walker, 1791, but the latter had the advantage of being an Englishman, and his dictionary is still in some repute, though those who study it will see his vain struggles to reconcile analogy with custom, his constant references to the habits of a class of society to which he evidently did not belong, his treatment of pronunciation as if determined by orthography (precisely in the same way as grammarians consider grammar to mould language, whereas both orthography and gram-

[1] "BOSWELL: It may be of use, Sir, to have a Dictionary to ascertain the pronunciation. JOHNSON: Why, Sir, my Dictionary shews you the accent of words, if you can but remember them. BOSWELL: But, Sir, we want marks to ascertain the pronunciation of the vowels. Sheridan, I believe, has finished such a work. JOHNSON: Why, Sir, consider how much easier it is to learn a language by the ear, than by any marks. Sheridan's Dictionary may do very well; but you cannot always carry it about with you: and, when you want the word, you have not the Dictionary. It is like the man who has a sword that will not draw. It is an admirable sword to be sure: but while your enemy is cutting your throat you are unable to use it Besides, Sir, what entitles Sheridan to fix the pronunciation of English? He has, in the first place, the disadvantage of being an Irishman: and if he says he will fix it after the example of the best company, why they differ among themselves. I remember an instance: when I published the plan for my Dictionary, Lord Chesterfield told me that the word *great* should be pronounced to rhyme to state; and Sir William Yonge sent me word that it should be pronounced so as to rhyme to *seat*, and that none but Irishmen would pronounce it *grait*. Now here were two men of the highest rank, the one the best speaker in the House of Lords, the other the best speaker in the House of Commons, differing entirely." Boswell's Life of Johnson, anno. 1772, æt. 63. Dr. Johnson, however, had his own fancies: "I perceived that he pronounced the word *heard*, as if spelled with a double *e*, *heerd*, instead of sounding it *herd*, as is most usually done. He said, his reason was, that if it were pronounced *herd*, there would be a single exception from the English pronunciation of the syllable *ear*, and he thought it better not to have that exception." Ibid, anno 1777, æt. 68. Dr. Johnson had forgotten *heart*, *hearken*, *wear*, *bear*, *to tear*, *swear*, *earl*, *pearl*, which all orthoepists of his time pronounce differently from *ear*. On *great*, *seat*, see suprà, p. 87.

mar are *casts*, one of speech sounds, and the other of speech combinations); in short, in almost every part of his "principles," and his "remarks" upon particular words throughout his dictionary, they will see the most evident marks of insufficient knowledge, and of that kind of pedantic self-sufficiency which is the true growth of half-enlightened ignorance, and may be termed "usherism." Walker has done good and hard work; he has laid down rules, and hence given definite assertions to be considered, and he has undoubtedly materially influenced thousands of people, who, more ignorant than himself, looked upon him as an authority. But his book has passed away, and his pronunciations are no longer accepted. Jones, 1798; Perry, 1805; Enfield, 1807; Fulton, 1821; Jameson, 1827; Knowles, 1835, need not be more than named. The last was a corrector and follower of Sheridan. Smart's *Walker Remodelled*, 1836, and Worcester's *Critical and Pronouncing Dictionary*, 1847, are those now most in vogue. Smart was a teacher of elocution in London, who enjoyed a considerable reputation; Worcester is an American. In both of these we have a distinct recognition of the vowels in unaccented syllables, but by no means a distinct representation of the same; and in Smart we have great consideration bestowed upon the final vocal *r* (ɹ), and its diphthongal action on the preceding vowel.

The vocabulary of our language is so much more copious than the vocabulary of any individual, and the vocabulary of any writer is so much more copious than the vocabulary of the same man as a speaker—unless he be a public orator, a clergyman, a lecturer, a barrister, an actor,—and the orthography of our language conveys so little information upon the intended pronunciation of any word, that there will be many thousand words that even the most accomplished and varied speakers and hearers have never uttered or heard; and other thousands which they have only on the rarest occasions uttered and heard, of the sound of which they must therefore be more or less in doubt, unless they feel that confidence in themselves which will allow them to assert that their own pronunciation is correct, because it is their own.[1] By far the greater number of

[1] I do not remember ever meeting with a person of general education, or even literary habits, who could read off without hesitation, the whole of such a list of words as: bourgeois, demy, actinism, velleity, batman, beaufin, brevier, rowlock, fusil, flugleman, vase, tassel, buoy, oboe, archimandrite, etc., and give them in each case the same pronunciation as is assigned in any given pronouncing dictionary now in use. Dr. Kitto, who lost his hearing at twelve years of age, but retained his power of speech, says: (The Lost Senses, 1845, Series 1, Deafness, p. 23) "I have often calculated that above two-thirds of my vocabulary consist of words which I never heard pronounced. From this result some peculiarities not unworthy of notice. Many of the words of my old vocabulary continue to be pronounced in the provincial dialect in which they were learned, such as *tay* for *tea*, even though I know the right pronunciation, and generally recollect the error after it has been committed. I know not that I should regret this, as it seems to give to my language a *living* character, which it would necessarily want, if all framed upon unheard models. Many such words do not, however, occur, as I have exchanged many provincialisms for book words, which I am not *in the same way* liable

speakers, however, do not feel this confidence, and, afraid that the sounds they are accustomed to use in their own limited circles would be ridiculed in the higher walks to which they aspire, are glad to take the "authority" of a pronouncing dictionary as a guide. *Quis autem custodiet ipsos custodes?* What guide do the guides follow?

Now our previous investigation shews that at any given time there has always existed a great diversity of pronunciation, and that pronunciation has altered with different velocities and in different directions in different places, that what was considered "polite" at one time, was scouted at another, that there never has been so near an approach to a uniform pronunciation as that which now prevails, and that that uniformity itself is not likely to be so great as might have been anticipated.

Uniformity of pronunciation, necessarily depends upon the proximity of speakers. We have seen that the great changes in English were produced by the two civil wars, which mixed up the elements of our population. In more recent times a certain degree of uniformity is sustained, by 1) that communication between town and country which disseminates the habits of the metropolis throughout the provinces; 2) that system of university education which rubs together the different dialects of England in a classical mortar, and sends out the product as the utterance of young men of rank and fortune, and still more effectively, as that of young clergymen throughout the length and breadth of our land, and 3) that plan of teaching teachers which instils into them the pronunciation of the most usual words and enables them to impress it upon their pupils in the primary schools throughout the country. But that nothing approaching to real uniformity prevails is easily seen, and some striking illustrations will be furnished in Chap. XI.

When we listen to a discourse we are by natural habit carried away with the succession of ideas, and we have great difficulty in withdrawing our attention from this, and fixing it merely upon the sounds which are uttered. Any one, however, who wishes to study

to mispronounce. But even my book words, though said to be generally pronounced with much precision, are liable to erroneous utterance through my disposition to give all such words as they are written, and it is well known that the letters of which many of our words are composed, do not adequately represent the sounds with which they are pronounced. This error of pronouncing words as they are written is the converse of that so common among uneducated people, of writing words down according to their sounds. Many of such faults have, however, been corrected in the course of years, and it may not now be easy to detect me in many errors of this kind: but this arises not more from such corrections, than from the curious instinct which has, in the course of time, been developed, of avoiding the use of those words about the pronunciation of which I feel myself uncertain, or which I know myself liable to mispronounce. This is particularly the case with proper names and foreign words; although, even in such, I am more in dread of erroneous quantity than of wrong vocalization." The above test words, which are not all to be found even in Worcester's dictionary, written in glossotype according to my pronunciation, would be: burjóys, deemúy, áktiniz'm, veléeiti, bauman, 'biffin, breevéer, rulluk, fiwzée, fiwg'lman, vauz, tos'l, boy, ohboy, áhrkimándruyt.

pronunciation must be able to do this. It is entirely insufficient and misguiding to ask a person to pronounce you a given word. The most you can do is to propound him a sentence, and listen to him with closed eyes as he repeats it over and over again. Then you will probably detect differences of utterance at each delivery, differences which it requires years of care and attention to discriminate and symbolize satisfactorily. Even then, too, each delivery may be false, that is, not such as the speaker would utter naturally, when he was thinking of the meaning and not of the sound of the words. Listen to a preacher, shutting out your sense to his meaning, and observe the alternations of loud, distinct, slow, and scarcely audible, obscure, rapid utterances. Listen to the same man engaged in ordinary conversation, and observe the increase of the rapid, obscure utterances, and the difference occasioned in the tolerably distinct syllables by the difference of emphasis and delivery. Then think how difficult it is to determine the real pronunciation of that one man. How much more difficult must it be to determine and then bear in mind the pronunciation of thousands of other people, whom you only hear occasionally and observe less frequently, because you wish to know what, not how, they speak. And yet this has to be done by any one who wishes to discover what is the real actual existing usage of English speech. It is needless to say that it is not done. Certain associations of childhood determine the direction of pronunciation, certain other habits and associations of youth and early maturity, serve to modify the original, and, if the speaker inclines to consider speech, he may artificially "correct," and at any rate, materially change his habits of pronunciation in after life, but this is an exception. He soon ceases to hear words, he drinks in ideas, and only glaring differences which impede this imbibition, strike him and are, more or less falsely, noted. He is in the habit of using an orthography which not only does not remind him of the sounds of words, but gives him the power of deducing great varieties of pronunciation for unknown words. What chance then have we of a uniform pronunciation?

What is the course actually pursued by those who seek to determine a standard of pronunciation? Dr. Johnson laid down as "the best general rule, to consider those as the most elegant speakers who deviate least from the written words."[1] This was entirely theoretical, and was penned in ignorance of the historical variations of the orthoepical significance of the "written words." Walker asks whether the custom of speech to be followed is the "usage of the multitude of speakers, whether good or bad," epithets which beg the question, "the usage of the studious in schools and colleges, with those of the learned professions, or that of those who, from their elevated birth or station, give laws to the refinements and elegancies of a court?" and replies that it is "neither of these . . ., taken singly, but a sort of compound ratio of all three," which expression, knowing what compound ratio means, I do not profess to understand. He goes on to say, "Neither a finical pronun-

[1] Preface to Dictionary.

ciation of the Court,"—(is then Court pronunciation necessarily *finical?*)—"nor a pedantic Græcism of the schools,"—(does this eixst?)—"will be denominated respectable usage till a certain number," (what proportion?) "of the general mass of common speakers," *i.e.* those who are neither courtly nor educated? "have acknowledged them; nor will a multitude of common speakers authorize," (to whom?) "any pronunciation which is reprobated by the learned and polite. As those sounds, therefore," he concludes, "which are the most generally received among the learned and polite; as well as the bulk of speakers are the most legitimate,"—*i.e.* according to law, but what or whose law?—"we may conclude that a majority of two of these states ought always to concur, in order to constitute what is called" by Mr. John Walker, "good usage." But how does Mr. John Walker, of Colney Hatch, determine the usages of each of the three classes he has named, but certainly not defined? Smart seems to take refuge in "the mouth of a well-educated Londoner," presumably his own, and he talks of "vulgar speakers," "an appearance of pedantry," "quite rustic," "speakers of the old school," "metropolitan usage among educated people," "a vulgar mouth," "an affected speaker," "the best speakers," "distinct utterance," "obscure or colloquial utterance," "irrregularity," "vulgarism," "current pronunciation," "actual pronunciation," "broad utterance," "affectation," "the most solemn speaking," "vague and fluctuating," "elegant speaker," etc., etc., words and epithets implying theories or foregone conclusions, but not greatly advancing our knowledge. We may then repeat the question, what is the course actually pursued by these orthoepical oracles? It appears that they have observed somewhat, thought out, practised and *taught* more, till they have confirmed a usage in themselves, and have then announced that usage to be the custom of the "best speakers," allowing occasional latitude. Worcester endeavours to judge between past orthoepists, and among them allots the palm to Smart, but frequently gives several different pronunciations and says that "the reader will feel perfectly authorized" by Mr. Worcester? "to adopt such a form as he may choose." "The compiler" he adds, "has not intended in any case, to give his own sanction" to which, however, he seems to attribute considerable weight, "to a form which is not supported by usage," (which he has not heard generally used?) "authority," (which some previous orthoepist has not recommended?) "or analogy," (as derived from orthography?) He most sensibly concludes that "it would be unreasonable for him to make a conformity to his own taste, or to the result of his own limited observation, a law to those who may differ from him, and yet agree with perhaps the more common usage."

It has not unfrequently happened that the present writer has been appealed to respecting the pronunciation of a word. He generally replies that he is accustomed to pronounce it in such or such a way, and has often to add that he has heard others pronounce it differently, but that he has no means of deciding

which pronunciation ought to be adopted, or even of saying which is the more customary. This, indeed, seems to be the present state of the case. A large number of words are pronounced with differences very perceptible to those who care to observe, even among educated London speakers, meaning those who have gone through the usual course of instruction in our superior schools for boys and girls. These differences largely increase, if educated provincial speakers, especially Scottish, Irish, and Welsh, be taken into consideration. If our American brethren are included, the diversities still further increase, though our younger colonies generally, being of more recent formation, so that few of them can count even a small number of persons whose fathers and grandfathers were born and lived in them, do not materially swell the number. But if we extend our circle to those who have only received primary education, and still more to those who have received no education at all, who, not being able to read and write, or having no knowledge of theories of language, have developed language organically, we find the diversities extremely great. The respect which the inferior pays to his superior in rank and wealth makes him generally anxious and willing to adopt the pronunciation of the superiorly educated, if he can but manage to learn it. How can he? Real communication between class and class is all but impossible. In London, where there is local proximity, the "upper ten," the court and nobles, "the middle class," the professional, the studious, "the commercial class," the retail tradesman, the "young men and young ladies" employed behind the counter, the servants, porters, draymen, artizans, mechanics, skilled and unskilled labourers, market men and women, costermongers, "the dangerous classes,"—all these are as widely separated as if they lived in different countries. But almost all read, almost all have their favourite periodical, and all such periodicals adopt, within narrow limits, the same orthography. If that orthography only shewed some kind of pronunciation—it is really of very little importance which variety of those current among the educated be selected, or even if different systems were chosen in different newspapers—there would then be some means of comparing pronunciations, something less fleeting and more "questionable" than the utterance itself, something to which the reader would in the act of reading teach himself to conform. The educated author who has fancies of his own respecting pronunciation, could insist on his printer "following copy" and giving his opinion in his own spelling. But the printers generally, printers of journals in particular, would each soon adopt some special form, some vocabulary constructed for their office (suprà, p. 591, n. 2), and in a few years the jolting of these forms together would yield to some compromise which would produce the nearest approach to an orthoepical standard we could hope to attain. Would, however, our pronunciation remain fixed? All experience is against its doing so, and consequently spelling considered as the mirror of speech, would probably have to be adjusted from generation to generation.

Is such a standard pronunciation desirable? The linguist and philologist may perhaps sigh over this unnatural and inorganic orthopædic treatment of language. For one, the present writer could not suppress a feeling of regret. But the well-being of our race points in another direction. Recognizing the extreme importance of facilitating intercourse between man and man, we should feel no doubt, and allow no sentimental regrets to interfere with the establishment of something approaching to a general system of pronouncing, by means of a general system of indicating our pronunciation in writing, as far as our own widespread language extends. Without in the least presuming to say that other and much better systems cannot be devised, the writer may point to the historical phonetic spelling, developed in § 3, as a means at hand for writing the English language without any new types, with as close an adherence to the old orthography, as much ease to old readers, and as much correctness in imitating the sounds used by the writer at any time, as we could hope to be generally possible. And as to primary confusion, what would it matter, if not greater than the scarcely observed confusion of speech? Thus if one writes, in this spelling:

Ahy deemáhnd leev too plahnt mahy stahf maur furmli on dhu pahth. Wotsiz naiym, sur? Ahy reeuli dohwnt nohw, mum, mahy memmuriz mizzurubul:—

and another writes—

Ey dimánd leev tooh plant mi staf moh'r fermli on dhe path. What is hiz naim, ser? Ey reeali dohnt noh, mam, mi memmori iz mizzerab'l.

both would be intelligible, and a difference of sound not previously noticed would be forced on the attention, and probably changed; provided only that those who say *ahy plahnt*, &c., will not write *ey plant*, etc., because it is "finer," or "neater," or "shorter," or "nearer to the old orthography," or for any other irrelevant reason, which is the great danger to be apprehended—as I know by experience.

At present there is *no* standard of pronunciation. There are many ways of pronouncing English *correctly*, that is according to the usage of large numbers of persons of either sex in different parts of the country, who have received a superior education. All attempts to found a standard of pronunciation on our approximate standard of orthography are futile. The only chance of attaining to a standard of pronunciation is by the introduction of phonetic spelling, which will therefore fulfil the conditions required by etymological spelling, standard spelling, and standard pronunciation. Our present orthography approximately fulfils only the second of these conditions, and grossly violates the other two.

And thus the present writer has been brought round, by a totally different route, to the advocacy of a principle to which he devoted many years of his life and a considerable portion of his means. It is his own conviction, founded not only upon philological grounds, but upon philanthropical, educational, social, and political considerations, that a phonetic system of spelling should be adopted for our noble language. To its introduction he finds but one real objection—the existence of another orthography. Hitherto all phonetic attempts have made shipwreck on this rock. But the enterprising spirit of the phonetic navigators is worthy of their arctic predecessors, and their aim being not merely to solve a problem in natural science, but to increase the power and happiness of the vast race which speaks the English language, is one which is not likely to die out. Even now a phonetic periodical appears regularly in London, conducted by Mr. Isaac Pitman, whose widely extended system of phonetic shorthand, has done so much to popularize the phonetic idea. Even now Mr. Melville Bell has brought out the most philosophical phonetic alphabet yet invented, and has reduced it to a system of writing far simpler and easier than that in common use. Even now the present writer is engaged in producing a new edition of his *Plea for Phonetic Spelling*, for the second and larger home of our language, the United States of America.[1] It is true that the difficulties in the

[1] It was in preparing this new edition for Mr. Benn Pitman, brother of Mr. Isaac Pitman, and now of Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S., that I was fortunate enough to discover Salesbury's book (14 Feb., 1859), and thus commenced the special series of investigations which have developed into the present work. The printing of this third edition, after the text was complete, was interrupted by the American Civil War, and the preparation of these pages has hitherto prevented me from finishing the Appendices. It may not be out of place to annex here the headings from this forthcoming work, premising that ordinary spelling is therein for convenience termed Romanic. *Romanic Spelling*: (1), renders reading difficult, and writing still more difficult; (2), necessitates the memorizing of every form in the language; (3), makes learning to read and write a hateful task; (4), is one great cause of our prevailing ignorance; (5), mis-trains a child's mind; (6), is a hindrance to missionaries, travellers, ethnologists, and philologists; (7), obscures the real history of our language; (8), conceals the present state of our language; (9), hinders the extension and universal employment of English. *Phonetic Spelling*: (1), renders reading very easy; (2), forms the best introduction to romanic reading; (3), is as easy as correct speaking; (4), in conjunction with phonetic reading facilitates romanic spelling; (5), renders learning to read even romanically a pleasant task; (6), by economising time, increases the efficiency of primary schools; (7), affords an excellent logical training to the child's mind; (8), improves pronunciation and enunciation; (9), will greatly assist the missionary traveller and ethnologist; (10), would exhibit the real history of our language; (11), would exhibit the real state of our language; (12), would induce uniformity of pronunciation; (13), would favour the extension and universal employment of our language;

way are enormous, the dead weight of passive resistance to be moved is overwhelming, the ignorance of the active resisters stupendous, and the hands of the promoters weak; but the cause is good, the direction is historical, the means obvious, the end attainable by degrees, the material results of even small attempts useful, and one of the most practical men that ever spoke or printed our language, Benjamin Franklin, has left on record his own conviction that "sometime or other it must be done, or our writing will become the same with the Chinese as to the difficulty of learning and using it."[1]

(14), would effect a considerable saving of printing [this does not apply to glossotype, or any system in which diagraphs are employed]; (15), would bring phonetic shorthand into general use; (16), would be of material use in facilitating etymological investigations. The objections considered are arranged in five classes; (1). *Impossibilities and Errors*: It is impossible to introduce new letters and a new alphabet, or to frame a true phonetic alphabet, the analysis of all so-called phonetic alphabets being faulty and insufficient, and the new letters hitherto proposed constructed upon an erroneous basis. (2). *Linguistic Losses*: The change from romanic to phonetic spelling would tend to obscure etymology, would confuse words having the same sound but different romanic orthography in different senses, would occasion orthography to differ from person to person, place to place, and time to time, would obscure history and geography, and unsettle title deeds by altering the appearance of names, and would introduce vulgarisms of pronunciation. (3). *Material Losses*: The change would occasion a great loss of literary property, and great expense in providing new types. (4). *Inconveniences*: The change would be bad as change, would be too great, and would amount to an alteration of the language. (5). *Difficulties*: Phonetic books have a strange appearance, we should have to learn two systems of spelling instead of one, the fewness of the phonetic books renders the acquisition of phonetic spelling worthless, the change is not needed, and is useless, because only partially adopted, and another system of spelling exists. The author endeavours to shew the incorrectness of all these objections, except the last.

[1] The whole of Franklin's remarks will be found in a transliteration of his own phonetic orthography, infrà Chap. X., § 2.

Demy 8vo, pp. 151, price Ten Shillings and Sixpence,

ON

EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

With especial Reference to Chaucer,

IN OPPOSITION TO THE VIEWS MAINTAINED BY

MR. A. J. ELLIS, F.R.S.,

IN HIS WORK

"ON EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER."

BY

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OUR ancestors in the time of Chaucer, according to Mr. Ellis's view, sounded their *a e i* as they are now sounded in Italian or French, *o* and *oo* usually like the open *o* in Italian, *ou* like the French *ou* or the Italian *u*, and *ei* and *ai* both like the modern German *ai*, or as *aye* is pronounced in our House of Commons.

The present author, who for many years has had this subject more or less prominently before his mind, has arrived at conclusions totally opposed to Mr. Ellis's, and contends—and, as he believes, demonstrates—that English in Chaucer's time was *in the main* sounded just as we sound it now. The evidence adduced is that of—

1. The traditional pronunciation of English, the dialects of course included;
2. The traditional pronunciation of other languages—Dutch, German, Icelandic, French, Italian, Greek, Welsh, &c.
3. Orthography, especially that of the Ormulum.
4. The rhymes of Early English Poetry.
5. The rhymes and assonances of Old French poetry.
6. Especially the classes of English words which though spelt alike—whether in Chaucer and his contemporaries or in the Elizabethan poets—refuse to rhyme.
7. Etymology.
8. The orthoëpists and grammarians—Palsgrave, Meigret, Erasmus, Salesbury, Sir Thos. Smith, &c.

Of these sources of information No. 6 may be thus illustrated. In modern English we have the words *here*, *mere*, *sere* with the termination spelt just like that of *were*, *where*, *there*, but sounded differently. The present author has shown that it was just the same in Chaucer's time: *here*

(adv.), *here* (= hear, vb.), *dere* (= dear, adj.), *dere* (= deer, noun), *chere* (= cheer), *appere* (= appear), &c. are spelt by Chaucer just like *there*, *where*, *were*, *bere* (= bear, noun), *bere* (= bear, vb.), *here* (= hair), &c., and yet never rhyme with these—a most important and significant fact which Mr. Ellis has overlooked. In like manner *soone*, *moone* (= luna), *spoon*, *noon* (= midday), though often spelt *sone*, *mone*, &c., no more rhyme with *bone*, *stone*, *alone*, *mone* (= moan) in Chaucer than they do now. The author has made large use of negative facts such as these, showing that certain classes of words, though spelt alike, were not pronounced alike, and then proving by the aid of kindred dialects and other evidence what the several sounds most probably were. In like manner he has thrown light on the classes of *ew* words which were distinct in the time of Chaucer and of Palsgrave (1530), but had ceased to be distinguished in the time of Heywood and Sir Philip Sidney, as also they are pronounced alike now.

The author has also ἐκ παρέργου treated of the kindred subject of Anglo-Saxon pronunciation, arriving at this result, that our language, as in the age of Chaucer, so also in that of Alfred, was *in the main* sounded as it is now.

The volume concludes with nearly thirty pages of Specimens, with foot-notes in which the words are all discussed one by one, consistently with the view repeatedly insisted on by the author, that the whole investigation is to a great extent the study of individual words.

Various *opinions* have before now been expressed by various scholars on the points discussed in this work, but Mr. Ellis and the present author are, it is believed, the first who have attempted the formal investigation and submitted their arguments in print to the judgment of the learned world.

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